

PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE AFFAIRS OF OUDE.

Ordered to be printed 28th June 1834.

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PAPERS, &c.

No. 1.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 12th July 1811.

LETTER from Mr. Chief Secretary EDMONSTONE to Captain BAILLIE,
Resident at Lucknow, dated Fort William, 6th July 1811.

SIR,
I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatches of the 12th, 20th, and 28th Ultimo, reporting the Progress of your Negotiation with his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier on the Subject of the proposed Reform of his Administration.

2. His Excellency the Vice President in Council deduces, with great Regret, from the Tenor of these Reports, and especially from the last, not only the Confirmation of the Opinions stated in my Dispatch of the 21st Ultimo, but a Conviction of the Impracticability of obtaining the Vizier's Concurrence in the System of Reform so earnestly recommended to his Adoption, excepting only by Measures of absolute Compulsion, by which are meant a renewed and direct Urgency on the Part of this Government, founded on the Obligations of Treaty, and accompanied by the Declaration suggested in the last Para. of your Letter of the 28th Ultimo.

3. From the Adoption of Measures of this Description his Excellency in Council is withheld, not only by the Political Considerations which are adverted to in the Sequel of this Dispatch, but by the Conviction that the Vizier's involuntary Acquiescence in the System of Reform, even to the full Extent proposed by you, would fail to secure its successful Operation; for, perverted and erroneous as are the Views and Sentiments of his Excellency, he would have an Interest in rendering that System abortive; and it is superfluous to add, that his Means of accomplishing that End are unlimited and beyond Control. This Consideration was present to the Mind of the Governor General in Council when he issued his Instructions of the 28th December, and it consequently was not in the Contemplation of Government to carry the Negotiation to the extreme suggested in your Dispatch of the 28th Ultimo. The Object of the Reference in those Instructions to the Obligations imposed upon the Vizier by the Treaty, and to the Reluctance with which the British Government employed its Troops for the Suppression of Disorders occasioned by the Evils and Abuses of his Excellency's Administration, or, to state the Case more strongly, in supporting the Cause of Injustice and Oppression, was to demonstrate the Right of that Government to demand from the Vizier the Reform of his Administration, and to supply the Arguments which might be supposed to have the greatest Efficacy in convincing the Vizier of the Necessity of a Reform, and in persuading him to adopt it. Your Declarations to the Vizier, therefore, intimating a positive Resolution on the Part of Government to refuse hereafter the Aid of its Troops in the Suppression of Disorders in his Excellency's Country, although occasioned by the Oppressions or Misconduct of his Officers, has exceeded the Intentions of the Governor General in Council.

4. The Introduction of compulsory Measures, as they are above explained, would entirely change the Ground of Negotiation. It would bring into immediate Question the Continuance or Dissolution of the Relations between the Two States, as established by Treaty; for if a Demand be made by one of Two contracting Parties on the other, on the Basis of a specific Article of Treaty, accompanied by a declared Resolution not to fulfil a positive and fundamental Stipulation, of the same Treaty in the event of a Rejection or

No. 1. Evasion of such Demand, and that Resolution be carried into effect, the
(continued.) System of Connexion established by the mutual Engagements of the Parties
ceases to exist.

5. It is unnecessary to trace the Consequences of such a State of Things between the British Government and that of the Vizier. It is sufficient to observe, that the Menace of refusing the Aid of our Troops for the Suppression of Disorders within his Excellency's Dominions must in the End be nugatory, since this Government would be compelled, by Considerations connected with its own, most important Interests, to interpose its Military Power for the Restoration of Tranquillity.

6. But situated as the Dominions of the Company and the Vizier relatively are, the State of Affairs implied in a Dissolution of the Treaty could not be suffered to remain even for a Day. The Compact must be renewed either in the same or another Form, and the Course of Transactions would naturally lead to the Establishment of a Degree of Control over the Vizier's reserved Dominions incompatible with the Obligations which formed the Price of his Excellency's extended Cessions in the Year 1801.

7. The Belief that the Vizier would be induced, by the Menace alone, to accede to our Views, furnishes no Argument in reply to the preceding Observations, since it is inconsistent with unalterable Principles to menace a Measure of which Considerations either of Expediency or of Justice would preclude the Adoption.

8. But the suggested Course of proceeding is objectionable on other Grounds, —on the Doubt of its being supported by the Laws and Principles which regulate the Interpretation of Treaties.

9. Questions which relate to the Dissolution of solemn Engagements between States must ever be considered of a most delicate Nature. The Violation on one Side, that can justify a Refusal on the other to fulfil a positive and fundamental Stipulation of the Compact, which would in fact be declaring a Cessation of the pre-established Relations between the contracting States, must be essential and indisputable.

10. In the present Case it is to be considered whether, although the Vizier has engaged "to establish in his reserved Dominions such a System of Administration (to be carried into effect by his own Officers) as shall be conducive to the Prosperity of his Subjects, and be calculated to secure the Lives and Property of the Inhabitants," and also, "always to advise and act in conformity to the Counsel of the British Government," his declining or evading, for Reasons connected in his Excellency's own Opinion with the Interests of his Government, the Adoption of the specific Plan of Reform recommended by this Government, is such a Violation of his Engagements as to warrant our Refusal to fulfil the stipulated Obligation of protecting his Dominions against the Evils of internal Rebellion and Disorder, and to disqualify him from maintaining the Relations established by the Treaty. The Train of Argument by which the Affirmative of this Question is to be maintained is sufficiently obvious, but not altogether conclusive; for, in the first place, Stipulations such as are contained in the Treaty cannot possibly be rendered so specific and precise as not to admit of some Latitude of Construction, or to preclude an eventual Opposition between their Spirit and their Letter; for instance, the Combination of the Two Stipulations above cited could not justly be interpreted to impose on the Vizier an Obligation absolutely and implicitly to accede to whatever Plan of Reform the British Government might advise, however adverse to his Interests or his Prejudices, nor the second of those Clauses to require him in every Concern of his Government to follow indiscriminately every Counsel, however injurious or repugnant to his Feelings, that either Wisdom or Error might suggest on the Part of the British Government, under the Penalty of forfeiting his Claim to the Fulfilment of our Part of the Stipulations of the Treaty. A Construction so literal would obviously be incompatible with the Existence of that Authority which by the same Instrument we have solemnly guaranteed. In the second place, the Stipulation on our Part to protect his Dominions from internal Rebellion and Disorder is not placed, even constructively, in such a State of Relation to that by which he engaged to establish an improved System of Administration within his Dominions as that the Abrogation of the former should be the penal Consequence of his neglecting or evading the latter. There does not, indeed, in this Case,

Case, appear to be either a just Proportion or a natural Relation between the Offence and the Penalty.

11. In the Imperfection of all human Arrangements, in none perhaps more conspicuous than in Treaties of Alliance between States and Kingdoms, Engagements of that Description must be referable to general Principles which constitute the Essence and the Basis of them, and those Acts or Neglects on the Part of the Vizier which would warrant a Dissolution of the existing Treaty must go beyond a Departure from an insulated Stipulation, which, however important in itself, is not, under a just and liberal Construction of it, an essential and fundamental Principle of the Alliance. That Alliance, indeed, has subsisted, and, as far as regards its general political Objects, has subsisted successfully, during a Period of Ten Years, the Stipulation in question remaining unperformed.

12. If indeed the Vizier, in a Spirit of Hostility to the Alliance, should systematically resist the Counsels of the British Government in Concerns affecting in an essential Degree our Interests and our Security, he would place himself in the Condition of a public Enemy, and absolve us from the Engagements which we have contracted. But that System of Evasion and Subterfuge, qualified by an ostensible Regard to the Counsels of the British Government, to which his Excellency has had recourse, cannot be so interpreted. In fact, the Subject of Discussion between the British Government and the Vizier is not the obligatory Nature of the Stipulations in question, nor his Refusal to fulfil them, but the Validity of the Pleas and Arguments by which he contends that the Matter of our Counsel would operate to the Injury of his Interests;—Arguments which we know to be futile, and to be urged with a view to the Continuance of a System of Government favourable to the Indulgence of his characteristic Rapacity, but which, with reference to his own Views, he considers to be legitimate and solid; and it might be difficult to resist the Force of the Remark, that the mere Error of his Judgment with regard to the real Interests of his Person and Government, and not affecting the fundamental Principles of the Alliance, could not justly be made the Ground of a Dissolution of the Treaty, unless the Clause which requires him to conform to the Counsels of the other contracting Party were deemed to be so absolute as not to admit of Argument or Objection on his Part.

13. But there is yet another Point of View in which the Question may be considered, and which is applicable to the Exception above stated. If the Provisions of the Treaty are to be abrogated on any other Ground than that of the Vizier having placed himself in the Condition of a public Enemy, on what Principle could the British Government resist a Claim on the Part of the Vizier to be restored to the same Situation which he held with regard to Territory, Power, and Authority before the Conclusion of the Treaty of 1801? It could not perhaps be maintained, that by evading the Fulfilment of the Stipulation which required him to establish within his Dominions a System of Administration calculated, in our Judgment, though not in his own, to improve the Resources of his Country and the Happiness of his Subjects, he forfeited the Advantages of the Treaty, without a Title to retain the valuable Cessions with which he purchased those Advantages. If, from Causes referable to the Circumstances of the Vizier's Country, and to the Peculiarities of his Character, but independent of any Acts or Projects of his Excellency hostile to the British Power, Stipulations relating to the internal Administration of his Dominions are found to be impracticable, the Alternative to us must probably be considered to be, either an Acquiescence in the unavoidable Imperfection of the original Arrangement, or a Dissolution of the Compact, involving the Restoration of the ancient Order of Things.

14. These Observations of his Excellency in Council are not intended in any degree as a Defence of the Vizier's Conduct, which, as you justly state, has been marked by Prevarication, Evasion, and Insincerity throughout the whole of the late arduous Negotiation; but they are stated, first, because his Excellency in Council deems it of importance that you should be apprized of his Sentiments on a Question affecting the Stability of the Engagements subsisting between the British Government and the Vizier, and the Obligations of public Faith; and, secondly, as being introductory to the Resolution which his Excellency in Council finds himself compelled to adopt, under the certain Disappointment of all your zealous and able Efforts to accomplish the Object

No. 1.
(continued.)

of the Governor General in Council's Instructions of the 28th December, and under the Conviction already stated, that even the Vizier's Acquiescence in every Part of the proposed Plan of Reform, in the actual Temper and Disposition of his Mind, would fail to secure any of the Benefits which his cordial Adoption of it would unquestionably produce.

15. You will anticipate that Resolution to be the Relinquishment, for the present, at least, of any further Efforts. The Plea to be assumed for desisting from further Urgency is, the Protraction of the Negotiation, and the consequent Delay in the Adoption of the preliminary Measures and Arrangements, occasioned solely by his Excellency's insincere and disingenuous Conduct, until the near Approach of the Termination of the current Fusby Year, has rendered the Prosecution of the Plan of Reform at the present Season impracticable.

16. You will not think it necessary at the same Time to disguise from the Vizier the Sentiments of Disappointment with which his Excellency the Vice President in Council has contemplated the Conduct of the Vizier during the whole of the Negotiation, and now contemplates the Effect of it, in the Suspension of the salutary and unobjectionable System of Reform recommended to his Adoption.

17. You will be pleased to add, that his Excellency the Vice President refrains from addressing the Vizier on this Subject until the Receipt of the Letter which it is understood his Excellency is preparing in Reply to the Governor General's Address of the 28th December.

I have, &c.

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE, Chief Secretary.

No. 2.

No. 2.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 25th March 1814.

LETTER from Mr. Secretary ADAM to Major J. BAILLIE, Resident at Lucknow, dated Fort William, 25th March 1814.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatch of the 8th Instant; enclosing the Translation of a Letter from his Excellency the Vizier, in reply to that addressed to his Excellency by the Governor General under Date the 7th of January.

2. Although the general Tenor of that Letter is sufficiently friendly, and professes a Disposition on the Part of the Vizier to listen to the Advice of the British Government, the Governor General in Council cannot but perceive that his Excellency entertains a decided Repugnance to the particular Plan of Reform which, in consequence of his Excellency's own Request, was submitted to him by the Earl of Minto in his Lordship's Letter of the 28th December 1810, and to any Modification of it commensurate with the Sentiments and Wishes of the British Government on that important Point. Every Mode of Argument, Exhortation, and Warning, every Appeal to his Excellency's Pride, Judgment, and Humanity, has been resorted to in vain, to obtain his Acquiescence in that particular Plan of Reform which the British Government has considered and declared to be, according to its Belief, the only effectual Remedy for the Disorders of his Excellency's Administration. It is obvious, then, that no Hopes can be entertained of Success from any further Endeavours short of Compulsion to carry that Measure in the precise Form in which it has hitherto been urged.

3. While the Governor General in Council laments the perverse and unenlightened Policy which induces the Vizier to reject that System of Administration recommended to his Adoption by the British Government, and which his own Experience of its Success in the Ceded Provinces might enable him correctly to appreciate, it does not appear to his Excellency in Council that, under a just and fair Construction of the Obligations of the Alliance, we are entitled to proceed to the only Measure of a compulsive Nature which was ever suggested, namely, a renewed and direct Demand founded on the Stipulations

Stipulations of the Treaty, accompanied by a Menace of withholding the Aid of the British Troops in support of his Excellency's Authority in case of his Refusal. No. 2.
(continued.)

4. The Arguments employed in Mr. Edmonstone's Dispatch of the 6th of July 1811, on a like Occasion, are precisely applicable to the State at which the Negotiation has now arrived, and they are strengthened and confirmed by the renewed Failure of every Attempt to influence the Judgment or Feelings of the Vizier. Even admitting that his Excellency were induced by a Repetition of our Demands, whether accompanied or not by such a Menace, to give a reluctant Assent to the Measure generally, it is obvious that no Vigilance or Care would suffice to prevent him from frustrating it in detail, without a complete Infraction of that Part of the Stipulation which provides that the Reform shall be carried into effect by his Excellency, and through his own Officers.

5. The Conclusion appears to the Governor General in Council to be inevitable, namely, that the specific Plan of Reform proposed to the Vizier by Lord Minto must be relinquished, or insisted on as the Alternative of a Resolution on our Part which would amount to a Dissolution of the existing Relations between the Two States.

6. The Principles of Justice and good Faith, as well as of Political Expediency, appear to the Governor General in Council to forbid the Adoption of the latter Course, and thus to impose on the British Government the Necessity of desisting from the further Prosecution of the Object.

7. While, however, the Relinquishment of the specific Plan of Reform above referred to is unavoidable, it by no means follows that the Hope of introducing a Reform into his Excellency's Administration, from which considerable practicable Benefit may arise, need be abandoned.

8. There is, indeed, no Doubt that a Plan, abstractedly of inferior Ability and Efficacy, in which the Vizier shall cordially concur, will in Practice produce the beneficial Results contemplated by the British Government better than the most judicious System of Regulations which his Excellency might ostensibly adopt and secretly counteract.

9. The Governor General in Council has the Satisfaction to think that the Tenor of the Vizier's Letter to the Governor General affords an Opening for renewing the Negotiation on this Footing, and the Governor General has accordingly addressed a Reply to his Excellency, conceived in Terms which are calculated to encourage his Excellency to open his Mind to you, and to state his own Views in such a Manner as to lay a Foundation for the Discussion and eventual Adoption of a Plan, which, though not embracing the full Scope of the wise and beneficial System which has been recommended to him, may yet combine the Advantages of a considerable practical Improvement in the Conduct of his Administration and the Condition of his Subjects, with a cordial Disposition on his own Part to give it full Effect.

10. An English Copy of the Governor General's Letter is enclosed for your Information, and you will receive the Original from the Persian Secretary.

11. You will be pleased to accompany the Delivery of the Letter with a Discourse on your own Part adapted to the Spirit of its Contents, and endeavour by every Method of Courtesy and Conciliation to engage his Excellency to throw off that Reserve which must ever be an Obstacle to the Success of any Plan, and appears to have been fostered by the controversial Turn which the former Discussions concerning the Reform unfortunately but unavoidably assumed.

12. The Footing on which it is desired by the Governor General in Council that the Negotiation should be recommenced will not tend, as the former naturally did, to generate Asperity both of Sentiment and Expression, which, unknown to the Parties engaged in the Discussion, must imperceptibly and unavoidably mix in a long protracted Controversy, animated on one Side by a Sense of wounded Pride, Jealousy, and Apprehension of the Loss of independent Authority, and of the Means of gratifying the Passion of Cupidity, and on the other by the more honourable Feelings of ardent and honest Zeal for the Reputation of the allied Governments and the Interests of Humanity.

13. The Object of your Endeavours should be, and his Lordship in Council is satisfied will be, to acquire the Vizier's Confidence, by showing him that you are not seeking to force any particular Measure on him, but are desirous of

No. 2.
(continued.)

knowing what the Vizier himself suggests, that you may co-operate with him in the Details if the general System be calculated to meet the Object in view, or to state to him frankly the Inefficacy of his Plan if it be really delusive.

14. It is particularly desirable to abstain from the Expression of any Suspicions of the Vizier's Sincerity; the Indication of such a Feeling must necessarily destroy all Confidence, while, by awakening his Pride and Interest to the Importance of acting up to the Professions which he has made in his Letter to the Governor General, the Ends of Government may be obtained, if not to the utmost desirable Extent, at least to such a Degree as to ensure considerable practicable Benefit.

15. While the Governor General in Council is prepared to give up the Attempt to prevail on the Vizier to adopt the particular System of Administration which Government was desirous that he should adopt, and to be satisfied with one of a more imperfect Character, it will be still essential to maintain in its full Force the Right of the British Government to satisfy itself of the Propriety of affording the Aid of its Troops in support of the Authority of his Excellency or the Officers of his Government. The Objections to the Abandonment or Compromise of this Right, under any Circumstances short of the actual Introduction into the Vizier's Dominions of a Plan of Administration which would preclude the Hazard of the British Troops being called on to act in support of Oppression and Injustice, are too obvious to require to be stated.

16. The Governor General in Council relies on the Exertion of your utmost Skill, Address, and Discretion for the Accomplishment of the Views of Government described in the foregoing Paras., and in the Governor General's Letter to the Vizier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. ADAM,
Secretary to Government.

No. 3.

No. 3.

MINUTE of Lord WILLIAM BENTINCK, dated 30th July 1831. (Received 22d March 1832.)

DURING the last Thirty Years the earnest Endeavours of the Supreme Government have been unceasingly exerted to induce the Rulers of Oude to reform the Administration of that misgoverned and oppressed Country. It is unnecessary to say that these Endeavours have been uniformly and entirely unavailing; and it may not be too much add, that, as long as it shall be held to be inconsistent with a rigid Adherence to existing Treaties to push our Interference beyond the Limits of friendly Counsel, or of Measures of a merely negative Character, the Task, for the present at least, must be utterly hopeless. Indeed it may be asked, what better Prospect does the future hold out, when the Experiment has been under Trial during the Reigns of Three successive Princes of entirely different Characters, and has been accompanied with the same Results and the same Failure?

As this State of Misgovernment continues to prevail in a greater and more aggravated Degree than in any former Period, as will be presently shown, it becomes necessary to consider whether, under all the Circumstances of our Position in relation to the State of Oude, any Justification is to be found, either in the Letter or the Spirit of our Engagements, for the Forbearance to apply a Remedy to Evils which by no Possibility could have existed for so long a Period, and to such an Extent, except under the Safeguard of our Protection and Power. It is true that the honourable and much more able Persons who have preceded me in the Government, with the Concurrence also of their Council, have deemed themselves forbidden, by a strict Interpretation of existing Treaties, forcibly to compel the Fulfilment of that Stipulation by which the Vizier and his Successors have bound themselves to introduce "such a System of Administration as should be conducive to the Prosperity of his Subjects, and calculated to secure the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants, as well as to act according to the Advice of the Supreme Government." If I pre-

sume

sume to differ from these high Authorities, and to recommend a Course of decided and peremptory Interposition, as more consonant to the high Obligations imposed upon us, it is right that I should disclaim all Idea or Desire of promoting any separate British Interest at the Expence of the Dignity and Comfort of the reigning Sovereign of Oude. The Policy, on the contrary, which I think ought to be pursued to all the dependent Chiefs subject to our paramount Power, is mainly an Abstinence from Interference; a Forbearance from all Display of our real Power, except in extreme Cases, where the Peace of neighbouring States may be disturbed from the Effects of Anarchy and Disorder which the Ruler may be unable or unwilling to suppress, or where a System of internal Administration prevails marked by such extraordinary Cruelty and Oppression as to call down universal Reprobation. But these Sentiments will be further explained in considering the Decision of former Governments upon the same Question.

No. 3.
(continued.)

I shall now record a Memoir submitted to me by the Resident at Lucknow, on my March to the Upper Provinces, in which is depicted the actual State of that Country.

Referring to the Misrule that had prevailed during the Life of the preceding Sovereign, the Resident observes, "but with the present Reign the Administration has become still more vicious; the Country has been going to Ruin; and, from Want of Order, Arrangement, or Stability in the Government, Oppression and Anarchy universally prevail; the People have in consequence no Faith or Reliance in their Government, and constant Desertion is going on from the Capital and the rest of the Kingdom." "No Revenue System on equitable Principles can be ever effected by the unaided Efforts of the Oude Government; constant Oppression, and the habitual Breach of all Contracts, have so completely destroyed their Confidence in their Rulers, that they cannot be expected to trust them again; while, as they themselves declare, they would agree to pay much higher Rents than at present, if they were assured that the Contracts made with them would not be infringed. A Minister of Oude knows, with the Disadvantages he labours under from this Feeling of Distrust and Insecurity, that, however honest he may personally be, it is impossible for him to prevent those employed in the Collection of the Revenues under him from following the rackrenting oppressive System which can alone render their Appointments profitable to themselves, or enable them to meet the probable Exactions to which they may themselves be subjected. During the late cold Season hardly a Day elapsed that we could not hear at Lucknow the Fire of Artillery at Places which the King's Troops were besieging, or in Engagements between them and the Zemindars. Now again that the Season for Operations has arrived we have Hostilities carrying on in the immediate Vicinity of the Capital." "The Inefficiency of the Police was never so glaring as at present." "The Capital and its Environs are the Scenes of nightly Robberies and Murders, and the Roads in the Vicinity are so beset by Thieves and desperate Characters that no one thinks of passing by Day or Night without Protection." "The Military Force maintained by the King of Oude is preposterously large, and a considerable Portion of it, exceeding in Number 40,000 Men with Guns, is scattered over the Country to strengthen the Hands of the local Officers, and to secure the Collection of the Revenue, yet they are not found sufficient for the Duty they have to perform."

These Extracts will suffice to show the Disorder prevailing in every Department of the Administration of the Country. Being aware of the Indisposition of the Resident towards the Minister of the King of Oude, and of the Inclination which he had shown to receive too easily every Complaint and Representation that his numerous Enemies would eagerly pour into the Ear of a hostile British Functionary, I thought it possible that this Memoir and Report might have received a somewhat exaggerated coloring from the prejudiced Feelings under which it was written; but all the British Officers, both those in Civil Situations at Cawnpore as well as those belonging to the Regiments cantoned in different Parts of Oude, gave complete Confirmation to the Statement. The desolate and deserted State of one of the finest Portions of Oude, and I may say of India, in respect to Fertility of Soil and Goodness of Climate, through which, during several Days, I myself marched from Lucknow to Rohilkund, afforded a melancholy Proof of the Oppression occasioned by the Farming System.

System. Our own Collectors and Magistrates in the Districts contiguous to the Oude Frontier have made such frequent Reports of the Incursions of Plunderers and Decoits that we have been forced to entertain additional Bodies of Horse to preserve Tranquillity, and have required the King of Oude to defray the Expence. Indeed, in the Conference I had with the King and his Minister, the Existence of these Disorders was not denied; but it is but fair to say that this Admission might not have been so readily made if the Minister had not been desirous of heaping as much Blame as possible upon the Administration of his Predecessors in Office, one of whom, Moatumud Dowlah, was his great Rival. He might not have been unwilling to exhibit, to their utmost Extent, the Difficulties he had to encounter, by way of excusing his future Failure, or enhancing his future Success.

In his Memoir the Object of the Resident is to show that it is to the Suspension of that rigid Interference and Control over the Affairs of Oude which was stipulated for in the Treaty of 1801, made by Lord Wellesley, that all this Mismanagement is to be attributed; and from no other Measure short of the actual Assumption of the Government, either directly in the Substitution of our own Authority, or indirectly in the Nomination of a Minister, who, as formerly at Hyderabad, shall be solely dependent upon the Government, and the Agent in fact of the Resident, that any Change can be expected. The Consideration of subsequent Measures will be hereafter examined. It will be necessary previously to review the Causes assigned by the Resident for this long-continued Failure; and with respect to the Failure he argues, and in my Opinion justly argues, that the same Effect must continue as long as our Guarantee is allowed to neutralize all those Principles of Self-correction existing in every other independent State. If, while we secure the Sovereign from all Insurrection and Aggression from his Subjects, however great be his Tyranny and Oppression, and withhold at the same Time the only remaining Remedy in the efficacious Interposition of our own Power, the Case of the Oude People is desperate indeed. Is it possible that Construction of our Obligations can be right which makes our Protection instrumental to Evil alone, and to Evil of such enormous Magnitude?

From the Character of the King — the main Source of all Hopes and Fears in a despotic State — nothing good is to be expected. Mr. Maddock says of him, and I believe with perfect Truth, "His present Majesty was bred up among Women, and all his Ideas are effeminate; he has no sound Talents, and less Habitude for Business, and the Government of his Country must devolve upon other Hands; but he is extravagant and wasteful in his Expences, and will never be satisfied with any Administration that attempts to limit his Income." Upon the Records are certainly to be found Reports from the former Resident of Acts of great Cruelty and Revenge committed under His Majesty's Orders, but when at Lucknow I was not satisfied that Depravity of this Nature could be justly charged to him. Of his extreme Weakness there can be no Doubt; he must ever be a Cipher as to the important Duties belonging to a Sovereign. He must always be a Tool in the Hands of those who have Possession of his Mind, and this Influence has hitherto been gained by the vilest Subserviency to all his bad Passions.

The Minister is described by the Resident as being "in his Heart more decidedly inimical to us than could possibly be expected in a Person who has so long enjoyed the Benefits of our Protection, and who owes, if not his Existence, the Preservation of an immense Fortune which he amassed in this Country, to the Asylum which has been afforded to him in the British Territory."

Honestly, no Doubt, entertaining this Conviction, the Resident, without any Authority from the Government, showed himself extremely adverse to the Hukeem's Elevation, and, deeply prejudiced, thought he saw in every Act and Measure of the Minister a systematic Design to oppose the Wishes of the British Government; and in One Instance indeed, the Removal of the Ex-minister, he indulged the extravagant Belief that the Hukeem entertained the Idea of resisting by Military Force the Execution of this Order of the Supreme Authority. I believe in no such Hostility on the Part of the Minister. He is indisputably one of the ablest Men in India, and is not surpassed by any other Individual, whether European or Native, as a Revenue Administrator. He saw from the Beginning that nothing would satisfy the Resident but the be-

coming, to use his own Words, the King of Oude, and to this inferior Position it suited neither his Ambition nor his Interests to submit. My Hope has always been and is, that, able as he certainly is beyond all other Men to reform the Administration, so, cordially assisted by a Resident, whose Advice, however firm and decided, shall never be wanting in Conciliation and Respect, he will be equally willing to accomplish this great Object; and it must always be moreover recollected, that, to a Remedy to all the Political Evils of the State, he has the additional and more difficult Task of governing an imbecile, childish, and capricious Monarch.

Speaking of the Effects of our Guarantee, the Resident makes these very judicious Remarks:—"If the People were assured that the King would receive no Military Aid from us, the Probability is that his own Attempts to coerce his Subjects would be defied and every where resisted." The very Arrears into which the Army and other Establishments had in the meantime fallen would, under ordinary Circumstances, in any Government, have brought about a Revolution or a Change of System; and here also the Sovereign of Oude is by his Connexion with us placed in a different Situation from that of other Princes, for it cannot be imagined that an Army of 60,000 Men would have quietly submitted to remain, some a Year, some Two Years and upwards, without Pay, but from a Fear that we should protect the King against any serious and general Mutiny of the Troops to enforce Payment of their Arrears. The most powerful Aumils, from the same Feeling, evince a Degree of Subordination and Obedience to the Government, even to the Relinquishment of their Offices, and the almost certain Consequences, Loss of Liberty, Honour, and Property, which could not be expected from them if they had no other Fear but that of their own Government. If the State of Oude had no Right to our Protection these Officers would resist its Power with every Prospect of Success; and not only could not the Government pursue its present System of Misrule without the understood Sanction of our Government, it would shortly crumble to Pieces, and the Aumils, or the Leaders of the Army, would portion out the Kingdom among themselves. The Alliance with us alone enables it to exist, and to pursue a System decidedly detrimental to the Prosperity of its Subjects." "Yet hitherto we have discharged no one of our Duties, and while maintaining and augmenting the Power and Dignity of the Prince, and securing him from all Aggression, we have neglected the Claims of the People, and have been instrumental to rivetting the Chains by which they are kept down and prevented from asserting their own Rights, and securing by Resistance a better Government for themselves."

Such are, such have been, and ever will be the Evils as long as the System of double Government prevailing in Oude continues to be administered upon the present Principle; the Story of To-day is the exact Counterpart of that of Thirty Years ago. In 1799 Sir Thomas Munro, that able and long-sighted Politician, in a Letter to the Governor General, strongly objecting (and how just have his Objections proved) to the Establishment of the Rajah of Mysore, to whose Family no Attachment remained on the Part of the Natives, "for it has been long despised and forgotten," and urging in preference the Partition of Tippoo's Dominions between the Company and the Nizam, observes, "There is, perhaps, none of them (Natives) who would not prefer a strong Government like that of the Company to one like that of the Rajah, which must necessarily be composed of different Interests, must be weakened and perplexed by Intrigue, and must carry with itself, like the double Governments of Oude and Tanjore, the Destruction of the Resources of the Country."

I cannot refrain from introducing the Opinion of the same great Man upon the Effect of a subsidiary Force, or, in other Words, of our Interference to protect the Sovereign, and of our Non-interference to protect the People. It is peculiarly applicable to the present Case of Oude, while the existing State of Mysore fulfils to the very Letter the Prediction of the future Consequences of the Rajah's Administration. This Letter was written to the Governor-General in 1817. "There are many weighty Objections to the Employment of a subsidiary Force; it has a natural Tendency to render the Government of every Country in which it exists weak and oppressive, to extinguish all honourable Spirit among the higher Classes of Society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole People. The usual Remedy for a bad Government in India is a quiet Revolution in the Palace, or a violent one by Rebellion, or by Foreign

“ Conquests ; but the Presence of a British Force cuts off every Chance of
“ Remedy, by supporting the Prince on the Throne against every foreign and
“ domestic Enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to
“ Strangers for his Security ; and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he
“ has nothing to fear from the Hatred of his Subjects. Wherever the subsidiary
“ System is introduced, unless the reigning Prince be a Man of great Abilities,
“ the Country will soon bear the Marks of it, in decaying Villages and
“ decreasing Population. This has long been observed in the Dominions of
“ the Peishwa and the Nizam, and is now beginning to be seen in Mysore.
“ The Talents of Purneah, while he acted as Dewan, saved that Country from
“ the usual Effects of that System, but the Rajah is likely to let them have
“ their full Operation. He is indolent and prodigal, and has already, besides
“ his current Revenue, dissipated about Sixty Lacs of Pagodas of the Treasure
“ laid up by the late Dewan. He is mean, artful, revengeful, and cruel ;
“ he does not take away Life, but he inflicts the most disgraceful and cruel
“ Punishments on Men of every Rank, at a Distance from his Capital, where
“ he thinks it will remain unknown to Europeans ; and though young, he is
“ already detested by his Subjects.”

Although Lord Wellesley did not unfortunately adopt the Opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, as expressed in his Letter of June 1799, respecting the Partition of Mysore, he at least endeavoured to provide against the Mischiefs of the double Government. In his Letter to the Honourable Court dated the 3d of August 1799 he observes, “ With this View I have undertaken the Protection
“ of his Country, in consideration of an annual Subsidy of Seven Lacs of Star
“ Pagodas ; but recollecting the Inconvenience and Embarrassments which have
“ arisen to all Parties concerned under the double Government and conflicting
“ Authorities unfortunately established in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I
“ resolved to restore to the Company the most extensive and indisputable
“ Powers of Interposition in the internal Affairs of Mysore, as well as an
“ unlimited Right of assuming the direct Management of the Country,” &c.

Two Years subsequently, in 1801, the Marquis Wellesley, proceeded to reform the Abuses in the Administration of Oude, the Description of which, as given in his Lordship's Letter to the Vizier dated the 5th of April, will be found to correspond in every Particular with that contained in the Report of the present Resident at Lucknow. “ I now declare to your Excellency, in the
“ most explicit Terms, that I consider it to be my positive Duty to resort to
“ any Extremity rather than to suffer the Progress of that Ruin to which the
“ Interests of your Excellency and the Honourable Company are exposed by
“ the continual Operation of the Evils and Abuses actually existing in the
“ Civil and Military Administration of the Province of Oude ;” and it is added, “ But I must recal to your Excellency's Recollection the Fact, which
“ you have so emphatically acknowledged upon former Occasions, that the
“ principal Source of all your Difficulties is to be found in the State of the
“ Country. I have repeatedly represented to your Excellency the Effects of
“ the ruinous Expedient of anticipating the Collections ; the destructive Practice
“ of realizing them by Force of Arms ; the annual Diminution of the Jumma
“ of the Country ; the precarious Tenure by which the Aumils and Farmers
“ hold their Possessions ; the Misery of the lower Classes of the People, abso-
“ lutely excluded from the Protection of the Government ; and the utter
“ Insecurity of Life and Property throughout the Province of Oude.”

And in a Letter to the Resident, dated 27th May 1801, it is declared, “ His
“ Lordship cannot permit the Vizier to maintain an independent Power with
“ a considerable Force within the Territories remaining in his Excellency's
“ Possession.”

With reference to all these Evils, the Governor General declared his Conviction that no effectual Security could be provided against the Ruin of the Province of Oude, until the exclusive Management of the Civil and Military Government of that Country should be transferred to the Company, under suitable Provisions for the Maintenance of his Excellency and his Family. Such was his Lordship's View of the only Remedy that could effect any Improvement ; but the Vizier making the most determined Opposition to the Plan, his Lordship was compelled to relinquish it, but substituted what he probably considered to be tantamount to it in effect,—the Stipulation, “ That while the
“ British Government guaranteed to the Vizier, his Heirs and Successors, the
“ Possession

" Possession of the Territories which will remain to his Excellency after the Territorial Cession, together with the Exercise of his and their Authority" [the Force of the latter Expression I do not exactly understand] " within the said Dominions, his Excellency on the other hand engages to establish such a System of Administration, &c., and will always advise with and act in conformity to the Counsel of the Officers of the Honourable Company."

The Historian, Mr. Mills, justly enough remarks, " No Dominion can be more complete than that which provides for a perpetual Conformity to one's Counsel, that is, one's Will." I have not the Means of referring to Lord Wellesley's Dispatches, to know precisely in what Relation his Lordship intended that the Vizier and the Resident should stand for the future to each other, but the Inference is clear, that the whole Power of the State was to be transferred to the Resident, the nominal Sovereignty only being left with the Vizier.

An Opinion of Sir Thomas Munro's, written in 1817, upon this Kind of Arrangement, is worthy of being transcribed. " A subsidiary Force would be a most useful Establishment, if it could be directed to the Support of our Ascendancy, without nourishing all the Vices of a bad Government; but this seems to be almost impossible. The only Way in which this Object has ever in any degree been attained is by the Appointment of a Dewan; this Measure is no Doubt liable to numerous Objections, but still it is the only one by which Amends can be made to the People of the Country for the Miseries brought upon them by the subsidiary Force, in giving Stability to a vicious Government. The great *Difficulty*" [Sir Thomas would better have said the Impossibility] " is to prevent the Prince from counteracting the Dewan, and the Resident from meddling too much; but when this is avoided the Dewan may be made a most useful Instrument of Government."

During the Remainder of Lord Wellesley's Government it does not appear that much Progress was made in the Work of Improvement. I perceive that in 1802 Plans were brought forward for a better Judicial Administration and Revenue System, but the Governor General's Attention being drawn to the more important Subjects of a War with Scindiah and the Mahrattahs, and not wholly unoccupied, perhaps, with the Discussions in England upon his various Political Measures, all minor Questions seemed to have been overlooked. It may, however, be right to remark, that in November 1803 the Home Authorities declared their entire Approbation of the late Transactions with the Vizier; " the Stipulation of the Treaty being calculated to improve and secure the Interests of the Vizier as well as those of the Company, and to provide more effectually hereafter for the good Government of Oude, and consequently for the Happiness of its Inhabitants."

It is impossible to suppose that it could be any Part of the comprehensive and decisive Policy of the Marquis Wellesley, or of the Home Authorities, to allow one of the principal Parts of this Treaty to remain a dead Letter; that they merely cared for the pecuniary Benefit which they derived; and that for the rest,—" the good Government of Oude and the Happiness of the Inhabitants,—" these were nothing more than Professions of Philanthropy introduced to give a kind and beneficent colouring to Transactions that might be characterized as unjust and oppressive. I entertain, however, that high Opinion of the Noble Lord's Decision and Firmness as to be perfectly satisfied that, had he remained in India, the Government of Oude would not have remained for Twenty-eight Years the Curse of its own People and the Disgrace of the British Councils.

But to those of Lord Wellesley succeeded other Policy and other Measures; the Renunciation of Conquests, the Abandonment of Influence and Power, the Maintenance of a System strictly neutral, defensive, non-interfering, pacific, according to the full Spirit of that Enactment declaring that " to pursue Schemes of Conquest and Extension of Dominion in India are Measures repugnant to the Wish, the Honour, and the Policy of the Nation." The Impossibility of adhering to this beautiful Theory was soon manifested, even in the Government of Lord Minto, than whom there could not be a Man more desirous of acting up to the Letter of his Instructions, or less disposed to entertain Projects of Ambition or Aggrandizement. Subsequent Events have all shown that, however moderate our Views, however contented we may be with our commanding Position, however determined not to extend our Limits, it has been utterly out of our Power to stand still; such have been the restless, plundering

plundering Habits which belong to this great Indian Society, such its very natural Jealousy and Apprehension of our Power, and such its Disregard of all Rules and Maxims of common Prudence or safe Conduct, that, after a Series of unprovoked Aggressions, Lord Hastings at last, in 1817, brought to a Completion that System of Policy which the great Genius and Foresight of Lord Wellesley had originally planned, and would have probably accomplished Five and twenty Years before, had he remained in India. Lord Hastings thus established the Pre-eminence of our Power, and a new Era of Civilization, Happiness, and of Blessing to this great Indian-World, to be effected by British Hands; but Blots remain on this fair Surface, and one of the greatest is Oude, and this I hope may still be washed out, to the ultimate Advantage of both the Rulers and the People.

I shall pursue, with as much Brevity as possible, the History of our Negotiations with Oude, for the Reformation of its Administration; and this Result will clearly appear, that, in proportion as we have receded from the vigorous Line of Policy laid down in Lord Wellesley's Treaty, so has the Misrule of Oude become greater and greater; while during all this Time we have been admitting that this Impunity to commit every Species of Extortion and Oppression has been solely suffered to exist in consequence of our Support.

During the Four first Years of Lord Minto's Administration nothing could be more active and unceasing than his Endeavours on this Question of Reform, and the Task could not have been confided to abler Hands than to those of the Resident at Lucknow at that Period; but in 1811 the Governor General having met with nothing but Opposition from the Vizier, and being satisfied of the Impracticability of obtaining his Concurrence except by Measures of absolute Compulsion, finally relinquished all further Efforts; his Lordship did not even feel himself justified to adopt that negative Measure recommended to him by the Resident, and disapproved the Threat of it which had been held out by the latter to the Vizier; viz. "of refusing hereafter the Aid of the British Troops in the Suppression of the Disorders in Oude, although occasioned by the Oppressions or Misconduct of the Vizier's Officers."

The Dispatch from the Secretary to Government to the Resident dated the 6th of July 1811, communicating this Resolution, contains a very able *Exposé* of the Law and Principles by which the Interpretation of the Treaty should be regulated, according to which, in his Lordship's Opinion, we were not authorized, even if the Stipulations might have been violated, unless indeed the Vizier had placed himself in the Condition of a public Enemy, to enforce them by an Exercise of our Power. I need not state in further Detail a Train of Reasoning so well known to those by whom this Question will have to be decided, and in accordance with which the Home Authorities appear in a great measure to have acted.

The Subject, however, of Reform was not abandoned by Lord Minto. On the 2d of July 1813 a Letter was addressed by his Lordship to the Vizier, in which Expostulation is expressed in the strongest Terms upon the Neglect shown by the Vizier to all the Representations made to him upon the State of his Country, and in which are described, also, the Obligations imposed by the Treaty of 1801 upon the Two Governments; but then, as now, these Remonstrances consisting of vain and empty Words, and followed by no ulterior Measures, the Stipulations of the Treaty and the Voice of the British Government were and always have been held at nought. It is impossible to have stated these Stipulations and Obligations more strongly than his Lordship did in the following Passages: "But it is necessary to draw your Attention to those Questions upon which your Excellency has continued to withhold your Consent to the just and reasonable Demands and Expectations urged by the British Government, under the clear and unequivocal Sanction of existing Treaties and Engagements. The most prominent of these, in point of Interest and general Importance, is the Reform of your Excellency's Administration, &c. It can hardly be necessary to recal to your Excellency's Recollection the Tenor of my Letter of the 28th December 1810 (Five Years before), in which the Right of this Government to propose to your Excellency the Introduction of a Reform, and the Obligation imposed upon you by Treaty to adopt that Advice, were proved beyond the Reach of Contradiction." "Entertaining the most deliberate Conviction of the Advantage, nay Necessity, of the proposed Reform, of the Right possessed

" by

“ by this Government to urge your Excellency to introduce it, and of the
 “ Obligation which the Treaty imposes upon you to attend to the Advice and
 “ Opinion of the British Government in carrying into effect that salutary
 “ Arrangement, the British Government would have been entitled, and was
 “ perhaps required, to insist upon your Excellency proceeding without Delay
 “ to carry it into effect ;” and the Letter concludes with these Words : “ but
 “ while your Excellency shall persist in disregarding that Advice, and resisting
 “ those Demands, in Matters deemed essential to the Welfare of your Govern-
 “ ment and the Welfare of your Subjects, and in your Compliance with which
 “ the British Government is entitled and required to insist, your Excellency
 “ must not expect that the British Government, by whatever Hands
 “ administered, will shrink from the Performance of its Duty, however painful
 “ it may be to discharge it.”

Lord Hastings succeeded to the Supreme Government in October 1813. The Measure of Reform continued to be urged on the Vizier, but with the same unavailing Success. In the Letter to the Resident dated 25th of March 1814 the Governor General laments the perverse and unenlightened Policy which induces the Vizier to reject that System of Administration recommended to his Adoption by the British Government ; but it does not appear to your Excellency in Council, that, under a just and fair Construction of the “ Obliga-
 “ tions of the Alliance, we are entitled to proceed to the only Measure of a
 “ compulsive Nature which was ever suggested, namely, a renewed and direct
 “ Demand, founded on the Stipulations of the Treaty, accompanied by a
 “ Menace of withholding the Aid of the British Troops in support of his
 “ Excellency’s Authority in case of Refusal.” Lord Hastings then expresses his Concurrence in the Arguments of Lord Minto upon a like Occasion, in 1811, and adds, “ The Conclusion appears to the Governor General in Council
 “ to be inevitable, namely, that the specific Plan of Reform proposed to the
 “ Vizier by Lord Minto must be relinquished, or insisted on as the Alternative
 “ of a Resolution on our Part which would amount to a Dissolution of the
 “ existing Relations between the Two States.”

The Vizier Saadut Alea died on the 11th of July 1814.

His Successor, soon after his Accession, promised to comply with the so often repeated Advice of the Supreme Government ; but at no very great Distance of Time the Hopes held out proved entirely delusive ; and though, during the Reign of that Monarch, as well as of his present Majesty, the same Remonstrances and Demands have been continually renewed, not the slightest Improvement has taken place in any Branch of the Administration.

Lord Hastings visited Lucknow in 1815. The War with Nepaul and the Mahrattas was then going on, and very serious Embarrassment was experienced in raising the Funds to meet the heavy Demands of Military Operations. Recourse was had to Loans from our different Allies ; and after much Reluctance on his Part, Two Crores were advanced by the Vizier, in the Hope, no doubt, of purchasing an Exemption from all further Importunity upon the Subject of Reform. After an Act of such substantial Service it would have been indeed difficult, and most ungracious at any Rate, to have persevered in pressing a Measure to which so much Repugnance had been shown. I may perhaps be permitted in this Place to remark, that to these Loans from dependent States, or, as they might be more justly described, unwilling Contributions, extorted by Fear of our Power, there is, in my Judgment, the greatest Objection, in the Destruction of Confidence which they necessarily occasion. When Twenty Lacks were borrowed from the Rajah of Putteala, which that Chief, as I learnt from the late Agent, never expected to be repaid, Runjeet Sing laughed, and asked if this was the gratuitous Protection that he and the other Sikh Chiefs had obtained at the Hands of the British Government. Nothing has given me greater Satisfaction than the Opportunity afforded by the State of our Finances and Credit to discharge these Political Loans, and thus to rescue from all Doubt our Honour, our Promise, and our exact Performance of our Engagements. In the particular Case of Oude it was to be regretted that for the sake of a pecuniary Advantage to ourselves we should have weakened the Right so often urged of insisting upon the Cessation of the tyrannical and oppressive System prevailing in the Oude Dominions.

It is necessary that I should conclude this Narrative of the various Proceedings and Transactions, together with the Line of Policy pursued by preceding

No. 3. Governments, with the latest Opinions of the Honourable Court respecting
(continued.) the State of Oude.

I have already said that the Honourable Court entirely approved of the Principles upon which both Lords Minto and Hastings considered themselves precluded from interfering authoritatively upon the Subject of Reform; and down to the present Moment no Sanction has been given to any Measures of Compulsion to attain this Object.

But in the later Dispatches of the Court, while, as is most just and becoming, the strongest Reluctance is expressed to intrench in the smallest Degree on the Independence of the King of Oude, to interfere with his internal Administration, or to commit any Act which should have the Semblance of taking advantage of his Weakness, yet the utmost Anxiety is expressed to put an end to this State of Things, and a Doubt escapes whether the Principle so long acted upon had not failed.

In a Dispatch from the Court to Bengal, dated the 28th of November 1821, in remarking an apparent Contradiction in the Policy observed by Lord Hastings towards the King of Oude and the Nizam, they state, in reference to the former System of Forbearance and Non-interference, "But adverting to the frequent Instances reported by the Resident at Lucknow, of Company's Troops employed in coercing the Vizier's refractory Zemindars, &c., we cannot but doubt whether the Governor General's other Object has been obtained, namely, that by allowing Freedom of Action to the legitimate Power of the State our Ally might be taught to manage his Territories with Benefit to his People, and with an Exoneration of the British Government from the Odium which attached to it as the Source of the existing Evils."

In their Dispatch dated 9th November 1825 the Court observe (Paragraph 153), "The Correspondence before us presents a truly deplorable Picture of the Condition of the Territories under the Government of the King of Oude, and gives us strong Reason to apprehend that the Services of our Troops have been too frequently employed, not to suppress Disorder, but to perpetuate it, by supporting Oppression."

The Court here ascribe the Mischief to the Employment heretofore of British Troops in the Collection of the Revenue, and in the Destruction of the Forts, the Consequences of which were our direct Support of the Aumils in every Species of Extortion, and all successful Resistance to Oppression was necessarily prevented. The Court specify a strong Act of individual Injustice committed under our Protection, and notice the Plunder and Rapine which our own Provinces were suffering from the Bands of armed Followers who took refuge within our Frontiers. The Court remark upon the extreme Difficulty in defining the Line between the Cases of Extortion on the one Hand and Contumacy on the other, by which the Employment of our Troops should be regulated. To escape from this Dilemma Two Measures only present themselves, either to withdraw altogether from the Connexion with Oude, from which it is stated "we are debarred by the Provisions of the existing Treaty," or to bring about a Reform in the Administration.

The latter Measure the Court urged the Supreme Government to use every Means of Persuasion to engage the King of Oude to adopt; but they at the same Time discountenanced any more decided Course of proceeding, which a Passage in some Instructions sent to the Resident Mr. Ricketts seemed to indicate. An ulterior Course of proceeding was adverted to in case the King of Oude should fail to act up to his Professions, and combining this Expression with the Desire to prevail upon the King to allow the Employment of British Officers in the Revenue Administration, the Court observe: "It has occurred to us as possible that you may have contemplated the authoritative Interposition of that Agency as the ulterior Course to be resorted to in the Case supposed." They then say, that this would not be in accordance with the Treaty, which stipulates that the Reform shall be carried into effect by the King's own Officers; and they conclude: "Rather, however, than incur the Hazard and Odium of a Rupture with the King of Oude, we should greatly prefer your acquiescing in his Propositions, however defective, and trust to the Zeal of the Agent to point out any Evils apparent in the practical Application of the King's Plan."

In

In the Dispatch of the Court dated the 1st of October 1828 the disorganized State of Oude, and the deep Responsibility incurred by the British Government in consequence of such sanctioned Misrule, are again most strongly and truly stated: "You have been apprized in a former Communication of the deep Impression which had been made upon our Minds by what we had learned from your Correspondence, and from your Proceedings, with respect to the Misgovernment and disorganized Condition of the Oude Territory, and the Conviction we entertained of the Necessity of a thorough Reform in the Administration of that Country. On this Subject it is scarcely necessary to assure you that our Opinion continues unchanged. That the Agency of British Troops should be the Means by which the Zemindars and Malgoozars, who are unable or unwilling to satisfy the undue Demands of the King's Aumils for Revenue, should be subjugated by Force, disabled from future Resistance by the Demolition of their Forts, subjected to all manner of Extortion and Oppression, and, finally, in too many Instances, expelled from their Possessions, and driven by Desperation to betake themselves to a predatory Life, is a State of Things so unworthy of the Character of your Government, and so discreditable to the British Name, that there are few Sacrifices which we should not be willing to make rather than it should continue." Again, in Paragraph 15: "We should delude ourselves were we to suppose that for the State of Things thus depicted the British Government is in no degree responsible, or that any one is more nearly concerned than that Government in its being promptly and efficaciously remedied. Had it not been for our Connexion with Oude, although Misrule might have attained as great a Height, it could not have been of equal Duration. The Subversion of the Government by which it was produced or tolerated, and the Substitution of a more vigorous and probably more moderate Rule, would have been the speedy Result. It is the British Government which, by a systematic Suppression of all Attempts at Resistance, has prolonged to the present Time a State of Disorganization which can nowhere attain Pre-eminence, except where the Short-sightedness and Rapacity of a semi-barbarous Government is armed with the Military Strength of a civilized one."

The Conclusion from these well-established and consequent Obligations is this (Paragraph 15): "It is therefore incumbent upon the British Government, not only to abstain from any further Co-operation with the Revenue Agents of the King of Oude while the present System shall continue, but to use its most earnest Endeavours for remedying the Evils which its Co-operation has already occasioned; and if, as appears too probable, there be no Hope of introducing any substantial Improvement with the voluntary Consent of the King of Oude, it behoves us next to consider what Means we possess, consistently with Treaties, of obtaining that Compliance from his Necessities which he has refused to your friendly Advice and Remonstrance."

The Measure of which the Honourable Court consider the Treaty to justify the Adoption is a Refusal of the British Force either to suppress the Rebellion of the People or to enforce the Realization of the Revenues. Unfortunately, the Army of 40,000 Men, maintained by the King of Oude, has superseded the Necessity of recourse being had to our Assistance. This Measure, therefore, is wholly nugatory.

There is indeed another Measure short of Compulsion, and partaking of the same negative Character—the Withdrawal of our Resident and Troops, which is still open to us. But would not this be an Infraction of the Treaty quite as great as any positive Interposition of our Power, while the Consequences of Civil War to the unhappy Country which has been the Victim of our Protection of their misguided Government, as well as to our own boundary Provinces, would make our Conduct decidedly criminal? But even under the restricted Interpretation with which the Delicacy of Lord Hastings surrounded our Right of active Intervention an Exception was allowed by his Lordship, of ultimate "Interference in extreme Cases, which of necessity belongs to a protecting Power relatively to the State protected." Now, if the Picture given in the Court's Despatch of 1828 is true; if the actual State of Oude, as described in the Memoir of the Resident written in November last, is not exaggerated; if, on the contrary, it is confirmed, as I can vouch by the concurrent Testimony of every Native of Oude, and of every British Officer in Oude, and in the still

No. 3. more damning Proof—the Desolation and Desertion of the Country, I ask, is
(continued.) not that extreme Case arrived? Much as I admire and revere the Two great
Men Lords Minto and Hastings, and much as I am desirous of concurring in
every Principle and Sentiment upon which they acted, founded as they always
were, and in this Instance in particular, upon Feelings of Generosity and
Forbearance towards a dependent Sovereign, still this so long-continued Hesitation to put a stop to Evils of which our own protecting Power is admitted
by those great Men themselves to be the Source and the Cause appears to my
humble Reason to be irreconcilable to Humanity, Justice, and every Obligation
of Public Duty. It seems to have been the Inclination to view Lord Wellesley's
Treaty as an arbitrary Measure, and the Condition by which the Vizier bound
himself not to misgovern and oppress his People as having no Validity, and
not intended to have any by the contracting Parties. I know not what Lord
Wellesley may have said, or may have to say, in his own Behalf, upon this
Point, but we have his recorded Opinion that in his Time the Misrule was so
great as to be incurable by any Measure short of the Assumption of the
Government; and if his Opinion concurred with that of every other Authority
who has written upon this Subject, that the British Government was responsible
for the Consequences, I cannot imagine it not to have been his Intention to
have compelled the Vizier to perform his Engagements. Without such Intention, why introduce at all into the Treaty a most objectionable Stipulation
of this Kind, which, with respect to the Vizier, lowered unnecessarily his
Dignity and Independence in the Eyes of the World, and placed the British
Government in this awkward Dilemma, that either they must be considered
as Parties to the Vizier's bad Government, or, if opposing his Measures, to
have it publicly appear that their Counsel and Authority had been treated with
Disregard and Contempt?

Lord Hastings adverts to the "heavily reluctant Assent" which Saadut
Alee gave to the Cession of a large Portion of his Territory, in commutation
of the pecuniary Contribution for our subsidiary Force, and of the Assurance
which he obtained in return of the independent Exercise of his Authority
within his reserved Dominions.

It would seem as if it was meant to be said that, availing ourselves of our
Power, we had taken more Money than we ought, and therefore, by way of
Compensation, the Vizier, under the Protection of our subsidiary Troops, was
to be allowed to oppress his Subjects as much as he pleased. But this was not
the Assurance given by Lord Wellesley; he did give it, but with this Qualification, that the Exercise of his Authority, so secured, should not be abused to
the Injury of his Subjects, and to the Dishonour of himself and the British
Government. But admitting, for the sake of Argument, that peculiar Consideration and Forbearance might be due to Saadut Alee, in return for the
Sacrifice of Territory and of Feeling which had been wrung from him;
supposing, also, that for the Two Millions Sterling advanced by his Successor
in a Time of great Financial Difficulty an equal Degree of Indulgence might
be shown to him; the present incapable Sovereign has at any Rate no such
Claim for an unrestrained Licence in misrule. My Opinion upon this Subject
entirely accords with one upon a similar Question contained in a Letter from
my worthy Colleague when resident at Hyderabad, under Date the 31st August
1822: "I suppose our Interference in his Highness's Affairs to be not merely
"a Right, but a Duty, arising out of our Supremacy, which imposes upon us
"the Obligation of maintaining the Tranquillity of all Countries connected
"with us, and consequently of protecting the People from Oppression, as no
"less necessary than the guaranteeing of their Rulers against Revolution.
"The only Refuge of a People intolerably vexed is in Emigration or Insurrection; and as we secure the Nizam's Government against Rebellion, it
"seems incumbent upon us to save his Subjects from grievous Oppression."
Our Duty and Right of Interference would have been the same whether
Lord Wellesley's Treaty had been made or not, while the Stipulation by which
the Vizier bound himself not to oppress his People takes away from him all
Excuse for his own Mismanagement, and all Pretext for complaining of our
Interposition.

With the strong Conviction that it is the bounden Duty of the British
Government to put an end to this cruel State of Oppression and Misgovernment in Oude, with an equally strong Conviction, confirmed by the Experience
of.

of Thirty Years, that Advice, Remonstrances, and Measures merely negative, will avail nothing, and that the Arm of Power forcibly interposed will alone effect this Object, I humbly advise and recommend that the Sanction of the Home Authorities may be given for this Purpose.

This being my decided Opinion, I thought it my Duty, at a personal Interview which I had with the King of Oude at Lucknow, at which his Minister was present, to represent to his Majesty the State of Disorder which I had found to prevail, and the Incompatibility of such a State of Things with the Welfare and Prosperity of his Dominions, with the Order and Tranquillity of our contiguous Provinces, and with the Provisions of the Treaty of 1801. I represented the little Hope of any Improvement that I could be authorized to entertain after the total Failure of the Advice and Remonstrances which had been made so repeatedly to his Majesty, both by my Predecessor and myself. It was my Duty to state to his Majesty my decided Opinion, that the British Government could not permit this State of Anarchy to continue, and that Misrule had reached that Extremity of Evil when the British Government was bound, both from Necessity and Duty, to interpose its Authority; and that I thought it right to declare to his Majesty beforehand, that the Opinion I should offer to the Home Authorities would be, that unless a decided Reform in the Administration should take place there would be no other Remedy left except in the direct Assumption of the Management of the Oude Territories by the British Government.

I have the Honour to lay before the Board Copies of my Conversation with the King, and of his written Reply.

The Grounds of my Opinion rest upon the acknowledged excessive Misgovernment and Oppression existing in the Kingdom of Oude, and upon the broad Principle, that as the paramount Power from which alone these Evils have their Source and their Endurance, we are bound to put an end to them. I consider it unmanly to look for minor Facts in justification of this Measure; but if I wanted them, the Amount of Military Force kept up by his Majesty is a direct Infraction of the Treaty. From this Force we have nothing at present to fear; but should Circumstances, either of internal or external Commotion, occupy our Troops elsewhere, it is quite evident that very serious Inconvenience, and even Danger, might be apprehended from this large armed Multitude, consisting of the finest Men in India, and little controllable by their own Government if the Check of our Power were removed. It must not be forgotten that the warlike Rohillas, ever ready to join any Standard of Revolt, are immediately contiguous to the Oude Frontier.

It may be asked of me,—And when you have assumed the Management, how is it to be conducted, and how long retained? I should answer,—That acting in the Character of Guardian and Trustee, we ought to frame an Administration entirely Native; an Administration so composed as to Individuals, and so established upon the best Principles, Revenue and Judicial, as should best serve for immediate Improvement, and as a Model for future Imitation; the only European Part of it should be the Functionary by whom it should be superintended, and it should only be retained, till a complete Reform might be brought about, and a Guarantee for its Continuance obtained, either in the improved Character of the reigning Prince, or, if incorrigible, in the Substitution of his immediate Heir, or, in default of such Substitute, from Nonage or Incapacity, by the Nomination of one of the Family as Regent, the whole of the Revenue being paid into the Oude Treasury.

Although I have presumed to differ with Two of my distinguished Predecessors upon the Question of Right and Obligation to force the Ruler of Oude to desist from his arbitrary and tyrannical Sway, I beg to express my entire Concurrence in the Description given by Lord Hastings of the Conduct and Demeanor that ought to be observed by a British Resident towards the King of Oude, and to the Chiefs of all dependent States. In proportion as our Power is notoriously overwhelming and irresistible, so should the Display of it be carefully suppressed, and, if possible, invisible; the utmost Delicacy should be used on all Occasions of Intercourse, whether of Ceremony or Business, to uphold the Rank and Dignity of the Native Prince, and to treat him with the utmost Consideration and Attention. The Errors of our Policy in this Respect seem to have been Twofold: first, to interfere a great deal too much in all the petty Details of the Administration, and in the private and personal

Arrangements of the Sovereign, making in fact the Resident more than the King, clothing him with a Degree of State equal to that of Royalty itself, and allowing him to act the Part rather of a Schoolmaster and Dictator than of the Minister of a friendly Power professing to recognize the Independence of its Ally. The immense Extent of Jurisdiction exercised by the Resident at Lucknow within the Town itself, the actual Residence of the Sovereign, is totally incompatible with the Royal Dignity and Authority, is often the Occasion of much Complaint and Inconvenience, and is strongly opposed to a considerate and liberal Policy. And secondly, not to interfere with sufficient Promptitude and Decision, as the paramount Power, when the vital Interests of both States, the Cause of good Government and of Humanity, imperatively demanded it. It is to the first Description of meddling and Interference, and the Mischiefs of the double Governments, which have been so often described, that I feel so much adverse. If the Political Agents for the most part were altogether removed I believe it would be for the Comfort of the Sovereign, for the Advantage of good Government, and for the real Interests of both States. This Measure is of course not possible where we have our subsidiary Forces, and where there are large Collections of European Officers, whose Conduct it is necessary to control. But in the minor States, in which this measure has been carried into effect, the best Consequences appear to me to have accrued. It is impossible that this Imperium in imperio can ever be successful; it is directly opposed to every Feeling and Passion of Human Nature. If the Dewan is the Creature of the Resident, the Prince, as Sir Thomas Munro observes, will necessarily counteract his own Minister. If, on the other Hand, as it has frequently happened, the Minister is supported by the Prince, but not by the Resident, the Influence of the latter is immediately courted by the Faction in opposition, and his Intentions and Conduct are, contrary to his own Will, often misrepresented for Party Purposes. Again, it often happens that an Administration offensive to the People draws, or pretends to draw, a Sanction to its Proceedings from the Support of the British Authority.

I have now stated the only Measure which, or the Threat of which, will, in my Judgment, be effectual in compelling, I may say, any Ruler of Oude to govern his Country without Oppression. It is a sad Reflection, that few of these Native Princes, more especially among the Mussulmans, have that high Moral Feeling which should teach them to consider the Welfare and Happiness of the People as their paramount Duty; they have no Education; they are surrounded from their Infancy by Flatterers and self-interested Counsellors, who are always exalting their Consequence and Dignity, and endeavouring to maintain the Favour of the Prince by administering to all his bad Passions. The Security afforded by our Power removes the only real Restraint upon a Despot, in his Fear of Insurrection and of the Revenge of his People. But the threatened Assumption of the Government brings into action a countervailing Power, that will much better supply the Place of insurrectionary Movement, the immediate Consequences of which must be Bloodshed, and the final Result by no means certain of effecting a Remedy. But by a direct Assumption the Life of the Sovereign and the Continuance of his Dynasty is not endangered, while all the oppressed find immediate Redress, the whole Community have a better Prospect of future Prosperity under their own Institutions, and the guilty Prince himself, and all his Successors, will have an Example before their Eyes of the certain Effects of their own Misrule; they, as well as all those who surround them, will always feel the heavy Responsibility by which they are surrounded, and will discover that their Interest as well as their Security is to govern well.

But I am sanguine in hoping, that upon the present Occasion this extreme Measure may be avoided; and nobody can more ardently desire such a Result than I do. I am as anxious as it is possible to be that no Abuse of Power, to the Degradation of our dependent Chiefs, should be chargeable to the Administration of which I have the Honour to form a Part. But at the same Time I fear not the Charge when I know it not to be well founded, and when, as in this Case, my most deliberate Opinion and Feelings are, that the present State of Things, so long allowed to exist in Oude, is equally injurious to the Sovereign and to the People, and is most discreditable to the British paramount Power. But I am sanguine in a great present Amelioration, from my Belief in the

Capacity and Willingness of the present Minister to effect it, and from the entire Possession he has of the Confidence of the King. That Part of Oude through which we passed had formerly been under the Minister's Management, and though now a Desert, the Superiority of his Management, recognized also by Lord Hastings at the Time, has left Traces of his enlightened System which are scarcely to be seen in any Parts of the Company's Dominions; and his Memory, as I was assured by the Officers stationed in that District, was still held in Reverence by the Ryots. To the Charge of Hostility to the British Government, made against him long ago, and lately repeated, I pay no Regard whatever; as are his Interests so will be his Conduct. It is his Interest to govern well, and to receive the Support of the British Government, without which he cannot stand. He knows, and I rather think is confident, that unless he does effect a Reform he will not have that Support. This Support is necessary, as well to secure him against the King's former Advisers and Minions, as to enable him to subdue the great rebellious Feudatories in opposition to the Government. The Work of Reform has hitherto been retarded by untoward Circumstances, but I hope the Time is at hand when it will make satisfactory Progress, under the Direction of the Talents and Experience of the Minister, supported when right, and controlled when wrong, by the friendly Counsel of a judicious Resident.

No. 3.
(continued.)

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK.

MEMORANDUM on Oude Affairs by the Resident, Mr. MADDOCK. (Received 22d March 1832.)

SINCE the first Connexion between this State and the British Government, the Sovereign of Oude has held his Territories virtually in dependence upon the British Government. The dependent Alliance which bound him to us previous to the Treaty of Lord Wellesley was changed by that Document into a nominal Release from Subjection to our Authority in the Government of his reserved Territories; but he still continued answerable to the Supreme Government for the due and proper Administration of Affairs in his own Dominions; and as he was precluded from adopting any Measure of Importance, even in the Management of his own Country, without the Advice and Counsel of the British Representative at his Court, his Power could have been considered as virtually no more than that of a Viceroy, responsible to the Authority from which it emanated. The natural Effects of such a Connexion would have been, under ordinary Circumstances, the gradual Establishment of the paramount Influence of the British Authority and Principles of Government under a Minister dependent on our Protection, while the nominal Sovereign dwindled into a State Puppet, of use only for maintaining the Pomp and Pageantry of a Court. That such were not in fact the Consequences of the Treaty of 1801 can be ascribed only to the personal Character of the Prince who then sat upon the Throne. Saadut Ali Khan was fond of Power; he was active and intelligent, and it was his Ambition to shake off the Trammels of British Interference; but the Stipulations of his Treaty kept him in constant Dependence upon us, and as he could little brook the Dictation and Restraint arising from that Treaty, he was involved in continual Altercations and Differences with the Resident, and opposed, for the sake of Opposition, every Species of Reform which it was the Object of the British Government to introduce into his Administration. His Temper was soured by the perpetual Opposition thus engendered, and his Rule, though vigorous and efficient, was disfigured by Cruelty and Rapacity. The Accumulation of Wealth seemed to be his Master Passion, though it may in his Mind have been subservient to his ambitious Projects, had he found a favourable Opportunity of putting them in practice. Under a Prince of his Character it is probable that his Country would have been better managed had he been rendered virtually as well as nominally independent of our Control in the Details of Government, and been absolved from all Obligations but those of Fealty and Allegiance to us, as the Guardians and Protectors of his Independence, and of the Integrity of his Dominions. Under his Successor, though a Prince of a very different Character, Lord Hastings, seeing the Embarrassments and Difficulties which a State of almost constant Collision between the Court and the Resident had produced, wished, without

No. 3.
(continued.)

dissolving the Treaty of 1801, to relinquish the Practice of Interference in the internal Affairs of Oude, and to leave the Prince uncontrolled in the Management of his Country; and the controlling Influence of the Resident was in consequence diminished. But the good Effects which might have been expected from such a Change of Policy under Saadut Ali Khan could not result from the Measure under Ghazee-ood-Deen; he was a weak Prince, and having given up his Authority into the Hands of a Favourite, that Individual alone reaped any Benefit from the slackening of his Master's Shackles. Under Circumstances where the Control of the Resident would have been peculiarly salutary, when indeed it was indispensable to prevent a Minister like Aga Meer from squandering as he did the Resources of the State on his own private Amusements, that Control was withdrawn; and as the Minister under the Change of System felt his Strength and Security to consist, not in our Favour and Approbation of his Measures, but in the Weakness and Partiality of his Master alone, the Consequence was, that during the whole of his Administration he opposed those Measures of Reform which were recommended to him by the British Government for the Benefit of the Country, because they would have interfered with his own Emoluments. Self-interest was the Principle of his Rule, and the Benefit of his Sovereign was as little regarded by him as the Pleasure and the Advice of the British Government. No single Advantage that I am aware of arose from his Emancipation from the Control of British Influence. On the contrary, there is every Reason to believe that if the Treaty of Lord Wellesley had been enforced, and it was well calculated to correct the Evils of such a *Régime*, every Object of British Policy would have been obtained, and the Minister would have been restrained from usurping, not only the Power, but the greater Portion of the Income of his Sovereign. In the present Reign the Administration has become still more vicious, and the Want of some corrective Influence has been more severely felt. The State of the Country may be judged from the annexed Memorandum on the Subject; and the Character of the ruling Prince is well known to Government. His present Majesty was bred up among Women, and all his Ideas are effeminate; he has no sound Talents, and less Habitude for Business, and the Government of his Country must devolve into other Hands; but he is wasteful and extravagant in his Expences, and will never be satisfied with any Administration that attempts to limit his Income. The Expenditure of his Muhuls is already exorbitant, and there is every Prospect that, if unrestrained, he will go on increasing it as long as he lives. Yet the Revenues of the Country have diminished greatly in his Time, and must continue to diminish; and as they have long been inadequate to the Expences of the State, the fatal Effects of the present System, though they may be delayed as long as the Hoards of Saadut Ali Khan can furnish temporary Relief, must at length be felt in the total Derangement of the Finances. All the Ministers that have held Office in the present Reign have been exempt from Control by the Resident; they have had only to consult the Pleasure of their Master; their own Favourites have been placed in all Situations of Trust and Emolument, and not an Officer of the Government has been actuated by any other Motive than Self-aggrandizement. In the meantime the Country has been going to Ruin; and from Want of Order, Arrangement, or Stability in the Government, Oppression and Anarchy universally prevail. The People have in consequence no Faith in and no Reliance on their Government, and constant Desertion of the Inhabitants is going on from the Capital and the rest of the Kingdom.* It is my Opinion that Matters would never have arrived at their present Condition if the British Government had continued to exercise that Control over the Government of Oude which it is by Treaty authorized to assume. The Minister of the late King would then not only have consulted the British Government, but he would have felt that his only Security lay in governing so as to gain its Approbation. He must have restrained his own exorbitant Rapacity and Extravagance, and introduced such a System of Administration as would conduce to the general Prosperity of the Country. We should have seen the Farming System generally abolished, and an equitable Assessment for

* Of Three hundred Shrooffs, said to have been settled in Lucknow in the Reign of Saadut Ali Khan, not more than Seventy now remain.

a Term of Years substituted in its place; while an efficient Judicial System could have been enforced, and the Police of Oude would have been put on a proper Footing. Under weak and indolent Princes, like the late and the present King, when the Minister must be the Master, we can have no Hold and no Check upon him if we refrain from interfering to secure the Appointment of a proper Person, and from exercising a certain Control over his Proceedings. The Prince is responsible to the Supreme Government for the good Government of his Country; while the Minister, the virtual Sovereign, is altogether irresponsible under our present System; and while the British Government is bound to ensure the due Administration of the Affairs of this State, we debar ourselves of the only legitimate Means whereby we might always secure a good Government for the People of Oude. If the King were himself an efficient Ruler there would be less Reason for us to interfere in the Appointment of his Minister; it would be unwise to do so. But where every thing depends upon the Character of the Person to be selected, the Selection ought not to rest with a weak, capricious Monarch; and though it would be comparatively unimportant whether the Minister under a competent Sovereign were well or ill disposed to the British Government, and willing or not to forward its Views of Policy for the Government of the Country, it is in vain to expect that our Objects can be attained through an absolute Minister, altogether independent of our Authority, in whose Appointment or Dismissal from Office we scrupulously abstain from Interference, who has consequently no Obligation, and no Fear of our Resentment, and may happen to owe his Elevation or Continuance in Office to his professed Enmity to our Rule. It is well known to be my Opinion that the Individual who at present aspires to the Neabut, and who has virtually directed all the King's Proceedings, and all the Measures of his Government for some Months, is in his Heart more decidedly inimical to us than could possibly be expected in a Person who has so long enjoyed the Benefits of our Protection, and who owes, if not his Existence, the Preservation of an immense Fortune which he amassed in this Country, to the Asylum which has been afforded to him in the British Territory. My Sentiments regarding him, as expressed at the Time when his Return to Lucknow was in agitation, remain unaltered, and I am still of Opinion, that, with our previous Knowledge of his Character, we should either have persisted in excluding him from Power in this Kingdom, or have accepted his Proposition to assume Office under our Sanction, and on a clear Understanding that his Influence was to be exerted for the Furtherance of those Objects of Reform in which the British Government was interested.

But while the British Government wishes to restrain its Representative from all Control over the Minister, and all Interference with the Details of his Administration, the Oude Authorities themselves feel the utter Impracticability of carrying on successfully the Duties of Government without his Countenance and Support. It is impossible for them to curtail the Royal Expences unless backed by the Resident; they can never conclude an equitable Settlement of the Revenue without some such Guarantee to the Landholders as his Sanction would afford; and no Minister would venture upon any considerable Reduction of the Army without his Concurrence and Advice. A Ministry here is powerless for all good Purposes without the acknowledged Sanction and Co-operation of the Resident; and the Reason is obvious, no Class of People can place Confidence in the Permanence of their Power, while it depends wholly on the Caprice of a Prince of whose weak and vacillating Disposition they are all aware at this Moment. The King could not disband any considerable Portion of his Army, unless the Measure was known to be sanctioned by the British Government, without the almost certain Risk of serious Mutiny and Disorder, much less will he ever be able to effect a radical Reform in his Territorial Administration without the Aid and Guarantee of the Resident. The Zemindars and other Landholders have no Faith, no Confidence in His Majesty's Government, or in the verbal or written Agreements of his local Officers; those who are strong set his Authority at defiance, and protect themselves by Force from the Aggressions and Exactions of his Aumils, while the weaker combat the System under which they suffer by Fraud and Stealth, and when sorely oppressed betake themselves to Flight, and endeavour to indemnify themselves for the Loss of their Houses and their Property by recourse to Robbery and Plunder. From all that I can ascertain of the State of Oude, I feel convinced that

No. 3. no Revenue System on equitable Principles can ever be effected by the unaided
(continued.) Efforts of the Oude Government. Constant Oppression, and the habitual Breach of all Contracts with the People, have so completely destroyed their Confidence in their Rulers, that they cannot be expected to trust them again; while, as they themselves declare, they would agree to pay much higher Rents than at present, and would apply themselves to the Cultivation of their Lands, in the fullest Security that the Contracts made with them would not be infringed, if those Contracts were only guaranteed by a British Officer. A Minister of Oude knows well the Disadvantages he labours under from this Feeling of Distrust and Insecurity; and it would be impossible for him, however honest and well-disposed he may personally be, to prevent those employed under him in the Collection of the Revenue from following the rackrenting oppressive System which alone can render their Appointments profitable to themselves, or enable them to meet the probable Exactions to which they may themselves be subjected. At this Moment several of the Aumils to whom the Collection of the Revenues has been intrusted can find no Banker who will become Security for the Amount they have engaged to pay, and the Ministry has found it necessary to surround the Revenue Farmer with a Military Force, under an Officer appointed to watch and control him, in order to prevent his Embezzlement of the Rents which may pass through his Hands. In such a State of Things, and when such Expedients are judged necessary, no mutual Confidence can exist between the Government and the Collector, or between the Collector and the People. The whole Frame of Government becomes disorganized, and the Subjects learn to withhold Payment of the Dues of the State 'till they are extorted from them by Force.

During the last cold Season hardly a Day elapsed that we could not hear at Lucknow the Fire of Artillery at Places which the King's Troops were besieging, or in Engagements between them and the Zemindars. Now again that the Season for Operations has arrived, we have Hostilities carrying on in the immediate Vicinity of the Capital. At one Place, a short Distance from hence, an Attack was made upon the Force under the Aumil Imrut Lul Pathuk, a few Days ago, when the Insurgents succeeded in capturing Three Guns and putting the Royal Army to flight with considerable Loss. The Spirit of Opposition is evidently on the Increase, and the Number of Zemindars capable of resisting the Power of the local Officers, and of opposing, sometimes with Success, the King's regular Troops, is yearly augmenting. A Zemindar bribes the Aumil, or perhaps the Minister, to connive at his Usurpation of the Villages in his Neighbourhood, and at his building a strong Fort, and conveying Guns into it, and when he has strengthened himself sufficiently he sets the Authority of the Aumil at defiance, and will not yield without a desperate Struggle to the Army which may be sent against him from the Capital. Notwithstanding some solitary Instances of more than ordinary Energy displayed by the present Administration to subdue this refractory Spirit in the Zemindars, as in the Case of Seeodeen, who was lately surprised and taken Prisoner, the Authority of Government has, generally speaking, received no Accession of Strength; and in the District of Mohumdee, farmed nominally to a Nephew of Hukeem Meh-dee, but in reality to himself, a more general Combination of the insurgent Zemindars to oppose his Rule has lately been organized than was ever before known. He will probably be able to collect little Revenue without fighting for it; and when this Spirit of Opposition is thus boldly evinced against a Person who wields the whole Military Power of the State, the Disposition of the People in other Districts will not be more peaceable or submissive. Some of the most powerful Aumils, whether bribed to Connivance at the Usurpations of the Zemindars, or conscious of their own Weakness and Inability to coerce them, seem willing to abstain from interfering with them, and allow them to assume and exercise the Power and Privileges of petty Princes in the Land over which they rule, to make War upon one another, and not unfrequently to lay the unprotected Villages in their Vicinity under Contribution.

The British Government enjoins its Resident to avoid scrupulously all Interference in the Details of the Administration, while that of Oude, conscious of its Weakness, is ever anxious for his Support and Countenance in any Measure that it desires to accomplish. It is the Opinion of every Man who is called to administer the Affairs of this Kingdom, that his Plans cannot succeed without the previous Sanction of the Resident, and he is constantly endeavouring to obtain

obtain from that Officer, by indirect Means, the Assistance and Advice which he finds necessary to strengthen his own Hands, and in this anomalous State of Things must often make use of the Name and Authority of the Resident for the Accomplishment of Objects which, if that Officer's Right to counsel and interfere were openly avowed, he would hesitate to approve or sanction. The Resident cannot enter into the Merits of the Question which he is precluded from investigating, and of which he hears only one Side, and his Advice, if under such Circumstances he ventures to give it, can be regarded only as that of a private Individual. For myself, I rarely give any Opinion on Points submitted to me, because I am not Master of the Subject, and can only recommend the Government to do that which appears to them best; and while the Ministry complain of my Apathy and Backwardness to co-operate with them, they make use of my Name to sanction their Proceedings as boldly as if their Measures had actually been framed in concert with me. The late Minister, Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, from long Possession of Power, was so firmly established that he must have stood less in need of this fictitious Support to his Administration, but it is his decided Opinion that the Removal of the controlling Influence of the Resident over the Affairs of this Government in the Time of Lord Hastings was the greatest Misfortune that it could have sustained. Fuzl Ali, Ramdial, and Akbar Ali were utterly unable to govern for want of this Influence; and I fancy Mehudee Ali Khan is fully sensible how weak and inefficient his Rule must be, unsupported by the British Government. While, therefore, from Principle and Policy, and a Wish to leave the Sovereign uncontrolled and unshackled in the Measures of his Government, we endeavour to refrain from taking any Part in the Administration, the Ministry, in want of that Support which we withhold, would fain persuade us, against our Inclination, to resume the Position which, according to the Treaty with Saadut Ali Khan, we ought to maintain in the Direction of the Affairs of Oude.

As far as the Question concerns the Independence of the Sovereign, it will be expedient to be guided, not only by abstract Principles, but also by the Circumstances of the particular Case, and the Characters of the Individuals concerned in its Decision. It will, I presume, be taken for granted that the present King can never become virtually the Ruler of his Dominions. He can only be a Tool in the Hands of his Minister, and not possessing the Judgment and Discretion that would secure his selecting the best Minister, if the Choice is left to him it must depend upon Chance or Caprice, or most probably the Influence of his Women, on whom the Choice will fall. If left entirely to himself, it is not likely, considering his Fickleness of Disposition, that he would ever long retain the same Ministers. His Favourites would constantly be changing, and they in their Turns would be his Ministers. From Persons of this Description no Good could be anticipated, and it would be unnatural to expect any Reform at their Hands. To flatter and humour their Master, and to make the most of the Opportunity to enrich themselves, would be the Objects of their Government; and if, what is not to be expected, a Man of Talent and Energy, such for instance as Hukeem Mehudee, were to find himself so firmly established in Power, and had brought his Master to a State of such absolute Dependence upon him, as Moatumud-ood-Dowlah had done with the late King, that he might follow, without Fear of offending his Master, any Course of Policy which he approved, he becomes absolute, and though the King and the Kingdom have preserved their Independence of Foreign Control, they will have fallen into the Grasp of a domestic Despot, who may convert the Resources of the Country into a Source of private Emolument to himself, and impoverish the Estate to satiate his own Avarice.

Nominal Independence, under such Circumstances, could benefit neither the King nor the Country. How much more beneficial would it be that such a Minister should be under the Control of some competent and disinterested Authority that would prevent his abusing the Trust reposed in him. Had Moatumud-ood-Dowlah not been emancipated from this Control, how different would have been the Result of his Administration. There is every Probability that, instead of sacrificing the Country for his own private Emolument, and rejecting every Project for Reform, he would have courted our Approbation, and entered cordially into our Views for the Benefit of the State. Excepting the Loans that in his Time we obtained from this State, no Object in which the British Government was much interested was gained through him; and

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even with respect to the Money which was lent to us, a large Portion of it was only transferred from the King's Treasury to ours, there to remain for the Minister's perpetual Benefit.

The Character of the present is far inferior to that of the late King, and the Country is in a more disastrous State now than it was at any Period of Ghazee-ood-Deen's Reign. Though scarcely Two Thirds of the Revenue can be collected*, the Royal Establishments are infinitely more expensive than at any former Period, and while the King remains uncontrolled they will continue to increase. If we maintain our present System of Non-interference, his Minister must either retain his Favour by furnishing him with Funds for all his Extravagancies, or must reduce him, by Intoxication and other Means, to such a State of utter Imbecility that he will be able to rule independently of his Master. It would be vain to expect that either the King himself, or a Minister in the Circumstances I have described, will feel any Pride or Ambition for the good Government of the Country beyond what may be consistent with their Desire to raise the Revenue; and what Minister in such Circumstances will forego the immense Advantages that the present System of Venality and Corruption hold out to him? It would at the present Day require the Exertion of the greatest Talent and Perseverance in a wise and beneficial Prince to effect a thorough Reform in the corrupt and vicious System which prevails, and has been strengthened and confirmed by many Years of Misrule. Where there is neither the Wish nor perhaps the Power to correct the Abuses of the Government, the present System must of necessity continue in force, and the Evils to which it gives Birth must go on increasing 'till Ruin and Bankruptcy fall into a State which in hoarded Wealth was a few Years ago the richest in Asia. The Disorder and Misrule that prevail in Oude have been depicted in such strong Colours for a Series of Years that one would naturally conclude the Descriptions of them exaggerated, as it appears impossible that such a State of Things could have existed for a Number of Years, without bringing on a Crisis that would have worked out a Remedy for the Evils complained of; and one might be inclined to think the present System less objectionable and prejudicial than it appears to be, from a Knowledge that it has lasted so long without ending in total Ruin and the Downfall of the Government. But the Evils complained of have not been always stationary; the Degrees in which they have been felt have fluctuated; and the utmost Misrule and Disorder that have at any Time prevailed may have been partial, and not general at one Time throughout the Kingdom. Certain it is, that flourishing Districts have been, under tyrannical and rapacious Aumils, so completely devastated in a few Years as to be left almost uninhabited, and have at a subsequent Period, under milder and better Management, been restored to Prosperity. The Agricultural Population may be considered as a Machine of wonderful Elasticity, for however they may be wronged and oppressed, and even when deprived of their all, and forced to desert their Villages, and seek a temporary Livelihood in other Countries, their natural Love of Home will recal them to cultivate again their hereditary Fields on the slightest Prospect that gleams upon them of better Treatment than they had before experienced there; and when a District has been ruined and depopulated, and little or no Revenue can any longer be extracted from it, it has been customary to farm it on moderate Terms for a Number of Years to some Man of Property and good Management, whose Interest it has immediately become to allure back the fugitive Zemindars and Ryots, 'till, by keeping Faith with them for a Time, and encouraging them with Hopes of continued Protection, he has succeeded in restoring the District to Order, and raising the Revenues to their former Standard. Some Parts of Oude are now in a high and beautiful State of Cultivation, while others are deserted and overgrown with Jungle; but, upon the whole, the State of the Country is described as being in greater Disorder now than at any former Period; and it is natural that this should be the Consequence of the weak and vicious Administration of the present Ruler. The Inefficiency of the Police was never, I understand, so glaring and palpable as at present. The Capital and its Environs, which under Moatumud-ood-Dowlah used to be as safe and well guarded as any City in India, are now the Scenes of nightly Robberies and Murders;

* In the last Year little more than Half of the assessed Jumma was realized.

and the Roads in the Vicinity, which might then be traversed without Fear either by Night or by Day by unarmed Individuals, are now so beset by Thieves and desperate Characters that no one thinks of passing along them without Protection. To account, however, for the Manner in which a State like this has been enabled to exist under a long Course of Misrule, and that Matters can go on from worse to worse without an ultimate Explosion, we have only to reflect on the Political Position of the Sovereign and his Subjects. The former feels Security against the Mutiny of his Army or a Rebellion among his Subjects in the Treaties by which he is connected with the Supreme Government; his Power being confirmed by other Means, he has no Stimulus, no Inducement to seek for its Stability in the Love and Gratitude of his People; while his Servants and his Subjects, knowing our Obligations to maintain his Throne, and believing that the Acts of his Government have the Approbation and Sanction of the British Authorities, and that any Insurrection or Rebellion against his Authority will be immediately quelled by our Power, are virtually deprived of those Means of Self-defence against outrageous Tyranny which other People would find in Resistance and Revolt. 'Till lately, our Aid was constantly and openly afforded in support of the Oude Government, and British Troops were annually employed in the Coercion of refractory Zemindars. Since his Lordship in Council wisely and justly resolved that Military Assistance should no longer be granted to the King's local Officers 'till the Circumstances of each Case requiring such Interference were explained to the British Authorities, and they had first decided on its Merits, such Applications are no longer made to us, and the great Zemindars have been gradually increasing their Means of Resistance, and many of them have become independent of the local Aumils. In some Parts of the Territory they are entirely beyond the Control of the Chuckladars, and make such Payments of Revenue as they please, and in some Instances withhold Payment altogether. But the great Mass of Zemindars and Cultivators possess not those Means of Opposition which strong Forts and large Bodies of armed Followers give to the more powerful, and they must yield their Necks to the Yoke of Oppression 'till they learn to resist it without Fear of being opposed by our Troops. The Military Force maintained by the King of Oude is preposterously large; and a considerable Portion of it, exceeding in Number 40,000 Men with Guns, is scattered over the Country to strengthen the Hands of the local Officers, and to secure the Collection of the Revenue; yet they are not found sufficient for the Duties they have to perform, and if the People were assured that the King would receive no Military Aid from us, the Probability is that his own Attempts to coerce his Subjects would be defied and everywhere resisted. In the smaller independent Native States with which I am acquainted I have always observed a certain moderate Limit beyond which the Tyranny and Oppression of Rulers could not pass. It is pointed out to them by Self-interest, and as they have no Resources to depend upon from without, they pursue that Course of Management which their own Means can render most advantageous to them. Instead of exciting their Subjects to Resistance, they are compelled to conciliate them, and a moderately good Government is the Consequence of their Policy. Here there is no such Obligation upon the Governors; the King is not dependent for his Income on the Revenues alone which may be annually raised from his Dominions, for he found a Treasury of hoarded Wealth at his Command on ascending the Throne, and he has not therefore been compelled to seek the legitimate Means of rendering his Territories more productive. His Ministers, meanwhile, have found their own Interest in maintaining the present System, under which the Country is parcelled out among a Set of great Farmers, whose only Object is to enrich themselves, and who care not a Straw for the permanent Prosperity of the Districts which it falls to their Lot to collect and plunder. The Misery and Ruin which they occasion to Thousands of the Subjects are unknown to the King, who is satisfied if they make good the Rent they have stipulated to pay; and those petty Governors being allowed almost absolute Power in their own Districts, there exists no Sympathy between the People and the Government; while the latter, unwilling to believe that the Defalcations in the Revenue arise from Over-assessment and undue Exactions, takes its Revenge on the Farmer for Balances unpaid, and sends another to succeed him, who, finding his Farm deteriorated and its Resources diminished, must have recourse to still more grievous Exactions to make good his Bargain,

No. 3. and save himself from Ruin ; and thus a Succession of Aumils takes place, each more oppressive than his Predecessor, and the Government is not aware of the Ruin it is causing, 'till at length no one will accept the Farm but on Terms which involve a vast Sacrifice of Revenue that comes too late to save the District from temporary Ruin. The Revenues are thus at this Time yearly diminishing* ; and if the Government had only to depend upon this Source of Supply it would long ere this have changed its System, for its Expences have not been proportionally decreased, on the contrary, they have been and are increasing. The very Arrears into which the Army and other Establishments had in the meantime fallen would, under ordinary Circumstances, in any Government, have brought about a Revolution or a Change of System ; and here also the Sovereign of Oude is by his Connexion with us placed in a different Situation from that of other Princes ; for it cannot be imagined that an Army of 60,000 Men would have quietly submitted to remain, some a Year, some Two Years and upwards, without Pay, but from a Fear that we should protect the King against any serious and general Mutiny of the Troops to enforce Payment of their Arrears. The most powerful Aumils, from the same Feeling, evince a Degree of Subordination and Obedience to the Government, even to the Relinquishment of their Offices, and the almost certain Consequences, Loss of Liberty, Honour, and Property, which could not be expected from them if they had no other Fear than that of their own Government. If the State of Oude had no Right to our Protection these Officers could resist its Power with every Prospect of Success, and many of them would no Doubt do so ; and not only could not the Government pursue its present System of Misrule without the understood Sanction of our Government, but it would shortly crumble to Pieces, and the Aumils, or the Leaders of the Army, would portion out the Kingdom amongst themselves. Its Alliance with us alone enables it to exist, and to pursue a System decidedly detrimental to the Prosperity of its Subjects. But the People of Oude are entitled, as well as its Sovereign, to our Protection ; and he is under Obligations to us to govern them well. Yet hitherto we have discharged only one of our Duties, and while maintaining and augmenting the Power and Dignity of the Prince, and securing him from all Aggression, we have neglected the Claims of the People, and have been instrumental in rivetting the Chains by which they are kept down and prevented from asserting their own Rights, and securing by Resistance a better Government for themselves. When Lord Hastings proposed that we should withdraw from our System of Interference in the Details of the Administration, the Boon of Independence was received with Gratitude and Exultation by the Oude Government, and while it was ambitious to enter upon its new Career, it might probably have consented to the Removal of our subsidiary Army from its Territory, for when we gave up all Control over the Administration of Affairs within the Kingdom the Presence of our Troops was unnecessary to aid in the internal Management of the Country or to protect it from external Danger. We at all events ought not, in Justice to the People, to have allowed our Army to remain merely to overawe them, and to be employed against them under a Government and under a System of Oppression which we have renounced all Right and all Intention to restrain ; we ought, I conceive, to have stipulated for the Removal of our Troops before we rendered the King independent of our Control. Then the Prince and the People would have been restored to their natural Position, of the Governor and the governed, and the Weight of our Influence would not have been thrown all into One Scale. But in consulting our own Convenience, and in seeking a Way out of the embarrassing Predicament in which we before found ourselves, the Interests of the People appear to have been overlooked, and all our subsequent Endeavours to improve their Condition have proved of no Avail. In vain have we endeavoured to induce the Oude Government to introduce, through Native or European Agency, a more equitable and sensible Mode of Revenue Manage-

* It may be added as a Cause of the present Defalcation of the Revenues, as compared to the Income realized in the Time of Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, that during the whole Period of his Ministry the Prices of Agricultural Produce maintained a very high Standard in this Part of India ; whereas in the last Three Years they have fallen off so much as to increase the Difficulty of paying the Rents, and the same Amount cannot now be realized from an Estate that it yielded without Exaction during his Administration.

ment; the System under which so much Evil has been produced continues unchanged; while the Profligacy and Corruption of the Court, though always notorious and almost proverbial, have ruined the Character of the Government as effectually in other Countries as the Impolicy and Weakness of its Measures have destroyed it in the Estimation of its own Subjects.

The British Government has all along acknowledged itself responsible for the good Government of Oude; and having lately pronounced its Resolution to see a Reform effected in the Administration, has a Task of real Difficulty to perform, and one that it appears impossible to accomplish without a wide Departure from the System of Non-interference which has so long prevailed. To effect its Objects it must either restore the Relations between the Two States to the Footing on which they were placed by the Treaty with Saadut Ali Khan, or it must take a still more active and prominent Part in the Control and Superintendence of Affairs than was contemplated by the Noble Framer of that Agreement.

The Objections of Government to such a Course of proceeding, while it can possibly be avoided, were stated in the Resolution of Government dated 28th May 1830; but the State of Affairs at this Court since that Period has prevented me from pursuing the Line of Policy therein explained for my Guidance. Had Circumstances been more favourable for the Experiment of such a System of corrective Control over the Oude Government as was there laid down I must be allowed to doubt whether it would have been productive of the beneficial Results that were anticipated from it, even if it were possible for a Resident to exercise a Right of Censure and Animadversion on the Acts of the Ministry, without overstepping the Line chalked out as the Limit of his Interference. If, for instance, the Expression of his Sentiments had the desired Weight with the Oude Government, his Notice of the Oppression and Misrule of an Aumil or other Public Officer would insure that Person's Dismissal from Office; he could not applaud or censure the Measures of an Individual without touching the Character of the Man, and thereby influencing his Fortunes, contributing to his Promotion or Disgrace, and exercising that Species of Patronage which he is particularly instructed to avoid. If, on the other hand, Government was averse to listen to his Advice, they would render such Interference futile and ineffectual, by openly reprimanding the Officer complained against, while he was secretly supported and maintained in his Appointment. But the Truth is, that from the Jealousy and Suspicion with which the Resident is viewed and treated by the Court of Oude he is not at present in a competent Situation to judge of the Proceedings of the Government or its subordinate Functionaries. Neither the Officers of the Government nor private Gentlemen are allowed to visit the Residency, from whom the Resident might learn the true Posture of Affairs, the Sentiments of the People, or the Condition of the Country. No official Communications are made to him by the Government of its Measures, proposed or in progress, unless when his Advice or Assistance are required, and he becomes acquainted with its Acts and Intentions only by common Report, or through the doubtful Channel of a Newsmen stationed at the Palace Gate. To enable him to exercise the limited Species of Control authorized by Government, he must recover that Influence and that Position with Relation to the Government and the People which belonged to his Office before its Duties were restricted and remodelled by the Marquis of Hastings, or his Attempts to act up to his Instructions of the 20th of May will lead him gradually back to the former State of Things. In the meantime, however, he must expect to meet as much Opposition as Mistrust and Jealousy can throw in his Way, and to be accused of more Interference in Details than his own Government wishes or authorizes him to exercise. Unless, indeed, the Oude Government is clearly apprised that it is expected, according to the Stipulations of its Treaty with us, to consult the Resident and be guided by his Advice in every Measure of Importance, and finds it its Interest to treat him with Confidence, his Interference at all can be productive only of Ill-will, and his Proceedings will constantly be construed into Dictation and Opposition to the Pleasure of the Sovereign. It being the Object of his Lordship in Council to excite in the Native Government the Disposition to govern well, and to leave this Disposition, when excited, to operate in its own Way without any special Guidance or Dictation on our Part, the first Point to be secured is such a Reliance of the inferior State on the Supreme Govern-

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ment that its main Ambition will be the Approbation of that Government. But our Measures have been calculated to wean the King of Oude from Pillage and Dependence on ourselves, and his present Advisers have laboured to separate his Interests from ours, and to estrange his Mind as much as possible from the Habits in which he had been brought up, of perfect Reliance upon us. The Ambition to govern well might easily be instilled into the Mind of a Prince like the present King, by a Resident so situated as to obtain an Influence over him; but it will depend, not on him, but on his Ministers, whether his good Intentions will be realized, and they cannot be exerted to promote the Welfare of the Country by Feelings of Patriotism or honourable Ambition to increase their own and their Master's Reputation; they can be effectually swayed by no Motives but their own personal Benefit, unless they feel themselves dependent on our Government for the Permanence of their Power. The Encouragement which the Resident can give to Plans of Reform, and his Attempts to lead the Oude Government to a better System, will be effectual just in proportion to the Extent of his Influence over the Ministry; but where it unfortunately happens that the Minister is decidedly opposed to British Influence, has instilled his own Principles into the Mind of his Sovereign, and has ingrossed his Favour and Confidence, it were vain to expect that the Voice of the Resident will be attended to. If we must interfere in the Administration, still leaving the Government in the Hands of the King or his Minister, we can only avoid the Embarrassment of constant Collision and mutual Irritation by first securing the Attachment of the Minister, and his Dependence on ourselves. The British Government is averse to involve itself in a Connexion of this Kind, and the Obligation which it infers, of Support to the Minister of our Choice, and I am fully aware of the Objections which may be raised to such a Course of Policy; but the Question of our Interference to secure a Reform in the Administration of this State is beset with Difficulties, and if the Attempt is to be made with any Prospect of Success, without our assuming the actual Charge and Direction of the Government, I know no other Course by which we can so effectually preserve a nominal Sovereignty for the King of Oude, and secure a good Government for his Subjects. There must be far less apparent and visible Interference in a Plan of this Kind than under any other System, and what there is would hardly be offensive. We should direct, unseen, the Mainspring of the Machine, without seeming to touch the subordinate and dependent Wheels by which it was worked; and, 'till the Minister feels himself responsible to us for his Administration, our Interference must be minute and vexatious, without the least Certainty of its being efficacious. But the Control of the Resident over the Minister must be complete to render it of use, and would involve so constant and vigilant a Superintendence over every Branch of the Administration that it may be apprehended the Government of the Country would be transferred to his Hands; and it may be argued that better than this would be the actual and open Assumption of the Government under British Functionaries. I am fully sensible of the Force of such Objections; and if a Minority of the Sovereign, or any other favourable Circumstance, would afford us an Opportunity of taking the Government temporarily into our own Hands, I should consider that a far preferable Alternative; for such a Measure can alone ensure the radical Reforms which the System requires; and the Influence of the Resident, exercised through a Minister, would not go to change the System, though it would control and amend its Operations. If the King were dependent for his Income on the Territorial Revenue of his Dominions it is not improbable that he himself might be induced to accede to a Proposition for the temporary Transfer of his Territory into the Hands of the British Government, as there can be no Doubt that under our Management it would be infinitely more productive to him than it is at present. But he is not yet compelled by Want to resort to such an Expedient, and would not consent to it readily, as he may be expected to do to a Measure, by which, though his Power will apparently be curtailed, his Royal Dignity would be unimpaired, and the Government would be conducted in his Name, and by his Officers. It was suggested a few Years ago by the British Government, that, if the King would consent to the Measure, British Officers might be employed in the Management of the Country, with every Prospect of Advantage to his Majesty, and the Certainty of great Amelioration in the Condition of the People. The same Plan was proposed to me by

Hakeem Mehudee, on his first Arrival at Lucknow ; and Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, than whom no one is better acquainted with the State of the Country, and the Evils of the prevailing System, has frequently expressed to me his Conviction, that all other Measures can prove but Palliatives ; that this is the only Remedy which can be of Avail. Officers so employed could act only under the Control of the Resident, or some other Functionary appointed by the British Government to superintend their Labours, and the Territorial Management being given up to us, there would remain but a Shadow of Government in the Hands of the King. This Proposition, therefore, though it did not express such a Meaning, must always have implied a temporary Transfer of the Government into our Hands. If the British Government is prepared to sanction a Measure of this Kind, and to take charge of the Oude Territory, as it did some Years ago of that of Nagpore, for a limited Period, or 'till some specific Object is attained, and if the King would cede it to us, either in Farm or to be managed on his Account, I cannot entertain a Doubt that this, the finest Province in India, would be rapidly restored to a high State of Prosperity ; and that, without infringing the Customs or making any Alteration in the existing Laws of the Country, we should have the Satisfaction of abolishing a most corrupt and oppressive System of Misrule and Tyranny, and adopting such Measures as would prevent its Revival soon after our Superintendence had been withdrawn. Arrangements might of course be made to rule the Country through British Agency in a Manner as little derogatory as possible to the Dignity of the King ; every thing might continue to be done in his Name, and the superintending British Officer might be appointed by him, his Naib, or Lieutenant. There can be no Doubt that this would be a more effectual Plan than the other, of discharging ourselves of the Duty which we owe to the People of Oude ; but it would subvert our present Relations with this State, and could only be effected by Negotiation ; whereas the Plan of controlling the Government through a Minister would be the mere Enforcement of an existing Treaty. By the latter Course we should incur no Charge of Aggression or Encroachment ; by the former, we should lay ourselves open to the Imputation of being actuated by a Spirit of Aggrandizement which might excite the Suspicions and Fears of other dependent States. It is notorious, not only in India, but throughout a great Portion of Mussulman Asia, that our Character for Moderation and Forbearance in our Indian Rule has gained its greatest Support from the good Faith which we have kept with the Oude State. We have even had it in our Power to annex its Territory to our own, but have abstained from all Attempts on its Integrity, and the nominal Independence of its Sovereign ; and to satisfy the Mussulman World that we were still actuated by the same Feelings, it would be necessary to convince them that we were compelled by the Necessity of the Case to a temporary Occupation of the Country ; that we had no Object in doing so but the Benefit, not only of the People, but of the Monarch himself, and that when that Object were attained we should replace the Government in the Hands of its legitimate Sovereign, in the same Manner that we have lately restored the Management of their Territories to the Princes of Nagpore and Hydrabad. One or other of these Plans must, I conceive, be adopted, if we really propose to introduce an effectual Reform : I at least can suggest no other Alternative. The Time is in many respects favourable for decisive Measures ; and the Disorder and Mismanagement of the Native Government have arrived at that Pitch, that, if it is intended to save the Country and the ruling Family from the Ruin that is impending over them, the Opportunity presented by the Visit of the Governor General to Lucknow should not be neglected.

Before adopting a Measure so decisive as the Assumption of the Government, though only for a Time, we must be able to convince ourselves, if not the World, that a moral Necessity compels us to make use of the Power which we possess to rescue the People from their present miserable Condition, by substituting our own in place of the King's Authority over them. Our Forbearance hitherto has warded off the Recourse to this extreme Remedy ; and though we have avoided the Opprobrium of Aggression and Cupidity, to which such a Measure, however indispensable, would naturally expose us, we may accuse ourselves of an insufficient Discharge of our moral Duty as the Guardians of this State. The total Failure of all former Plans and Efforts to induce the local

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Government to correct the Abuses of its System, and the Grounds which we have for despairing, from a Retrospection of the past, of any future Benefit from the same Course of Policy that we have been pursuing for the last Twelve Years, must be our Justification for any Innovation that may now be introduced, and any Infringement that we may be compelled to make on the Authority of the Sovereign. The Opposition likely to be made to such a Measure would be stronger on the Part of the Ministry, and all who profit by the Existence of the present Order of Things, than on that of the King. There are Circumstances in his Situation and Character which might help to reconcile him to an Abridgment of the actual Power, if he could retain the Pomp and Splendour of Royalty; and the same Circumstances would tend materially to justify the most decided Measures that the Supreme Government might resolve to adopt, under a profligate and imbecile Prince on the Throne of Oude. I have already expressed my Opinion that the direct or indirect Interference of this Government is indispensably necessary to ensure the proper Administration of Affairs. The only Way in which our Influence can be brought into operation, indirectly but effectually, is by the Nomination of the Minister, and by rendering him, in a certain Measure, dependent upon us; and if that Measure is considered an Infraction of our Treaties with Oude, and it appears impolitic to take upon ourselves the Responsibility which it would entail upon us of securing the good Government of the Country, though not holding the Reins in our own Hands, there will remain no Alternative but to administer the Government by our own Agents, or leave it in the Hands of Persons of the King's Choice, to be conducted by them for their own Benefit, while the Interest of the State, and every Species of Reform, are neglected. I think, however, that the Objections to our assuming, under any Pretext whatever, the direct Administration of Affairs, are stronger than any that can be brought against our controlling it through an intermediate Agent, nominally the Servant of the King, and really the Servant of the State, though acting under our Guidance. There would be less Difference between the Two Measures in Reality than in Appearance; but if much Good can be effected by an indirect System of Control, though it may be embarrassing, and not perfectly effectual for the Purposes intended from it, it is still I conceive preferable to any Measure that, however necessary, might be misrepresented as a Breach of Faith, and a wanton Encroachment on the Rights and Territories of a dependent Ally. Previous to having recourse to that extreme Remedy for existing Evils, it would have been desirable that the Oude Government should be formally and distinctly warned of our Resolution to adopt it, in case all other Measures failed, and the Inability of the Government to work out a Reform by its own Means remained as apparent as ever; and though the Sentiments of Government, communicated to me in Mr. Secretary Swinton's Letter of the 28th May last, have been fully explained to the King and the Ministry, and they must have understood, from the Tenor of that Letter, that Government contemplated the possible Occurrence of a State of Things that would justify our direct Interference, and was prepared in such an Event, and would feel itself bound, to interfere decisively, the Nature of the Measures which we proposed ultimately to adopt was not so clearly stated as to amount to a Warning formal and explicit enough for the Importance of the Occasion. True it is, that instead of Amendment in the Mode of Government since that Communication was made to the King, the Practice of it has grown from worse to worse, and has been disgraced by Acts of Cruelty and Rapacity calling more loudly for the Interference of the Supreme Authority than any former Excesses committed in the last or the present Reign; but much of the Misrule and Abuse of Power that have prevailed in the Interim may be attributed rather to the Character of the Individual at the Head of Affairs, than considered a Part of the System. The Reputation of the King himself has no Doubt suffered from the barbarous Punishments inflicted on Individuals who had immediately before enjoyed his Regard and Confidence; but he was instigated to these Cruelties by the Counsellor whose special Duty it was to dissuade him from such Excesses, and for the Increase of Anarchy and Disorder that prevail in the City and the Kingdom at large the Minister must be considered solely responsible. The personal Character, however, of the reigning Monarch is of that Description that it cannot be expected to influence essentially the

Character of his Government, which must ever depend upon the Disposition and Talents of his Minister; and this Consideration renders it the more important that the Choice of a Minister, who must become for all Purposes of Good or of Evil the Arbiter of the Destinies of all his Subjects, should not depend alone on the Whim and Caprice, or the Favour and Affection of a Person the Slave of Women, without any Firmness or Consistency of Character, and liable to all the Bias and Prejudice engendered in the Society in which he lives, but that it should be swayed and directed by a Power which has no Interest but in the Welfare of the State and the Prosperity of the People. The Political Relations between Nations on a Footing of Equality must vary according to Circumstances, and can be tied down by no everlasting Laws. Much more should the Connexion between a dependent Principality and the Sovereign Power which protects it, and is in a measure answerable that the relative Duties of the Prince and his Subjects are duly performed, be dependent on the actual Condition of the Parties, rather than on any general Notions of Policy. If at the present Time there were an able and virtuous Prince seated on the Throne of Oude, it should be an Act of Wisdom to relax the Bonds by which, according to Treaty, his independent Exercise of the Powers of Sovereignty is controlled, and to leave him unshackled in his Projects to benefit his Subjects; but when a Monarch of a very different Character wears the Crown, we are bound, I conceive, to restrain him from the Abuse of Power by every Check that we are already authorized to impose upon him; and if that is not sufficient to dissuade him from Evil, and to induce him to reform his Government, there is a paramount Obligation upon us to remodel our Treaties with him, or abrogate them altogether. He is bound by his Obligations to govern well, and to consult and be guided by the Advice of the Head of the British Government, or its Representative, in the Administration of Affairs. If he rejects our Advice and Admonition, and universal Anarchy and Misrule prevail throughout his Dominions, he is answerable to us for a Breach of his Engagements; but we are not without our Responsibility to the People, whom we leave unprotected from the Consequences of his Misgovernment; for what can have been meant by our Guarantee of his Possessions, subject to the Obligation of his ruling over the People with Justice and Clemency, but that while we protected him in the Enjoyment of Sovereign Power we engaged to secure them from the Abuse of it? Though a Degree of Evil and much Embarrassment arose from the clashing of Interests, and a perpetual Contest for Power between the King and the Resident at his Court, while the Provisions of the Treaty of 1801 were acted upon, there can be no Doubt that great Advantages also arose from the Restraint placed upon Tyranny and Misrule by the superintending Vigilance of the British Representative, and Evils of a more unquestionable and unqualified Nature have resulted from the Withdrawal of British Influence over the Administration of Oude. Of this every Native of Observation is sensible; and I fear the Impression is not uncommon that we have connived at Excesses, and have allowed the Vices and Mismanagement of the Native Government to go on unchecked, till the general Disorder of the Country would furnish us with a Plea for assuming the Government into our own Hands. Such a Crisis may have already arrived, and if so, it has been hastened, if not caused, by our Principles of Non-interference. But if an Event so little to be desired, with a view to our Reputation in India, and perhaps in Europe also, can be protracted or provided against, it can only be by our again undertaking the Duty of superintending and controlling the Administration of Affairs at this Court, and by thereby infusing into the Practice of the Government somewhat of the Principles that actuate our own. Our Aversion to this Species of indirect Control is not understood by the People of the Country, who would consider it a legitimate Exercise of Authority in the protecting over the protected Power. The King desires it, whenever it will serve to strengthen his Hands and add to his Weight and Respectability among his Subjects; the Minister regards it as necessary to the due and efficient Discharge of his Functions; and the People look up to it as their only Security against Oppression, and without it will never be induced to repose Confidence in their Rulers. A Kingdom of the Extent and Population and Fertility of Oude, if placed politically in a Situation of Independence, would naturally have evinced the Energy and Strength required to maintain its Independence, and for the

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Establishment of a strong and efficient Government throughout its Dominions ; but its Connexion with us has enervated its Power, and kept it in a State of Pupillage and Imbecility. It habitually leans for Support upon the British Government, and I really believe can only prosper through our constant and cordial Co-operation with it in the Measures which it may devise for the Amelioration of Affairs. This cannot be accorded, unless those Measures are in Unison with our Ideas of Policy and Propriety ; and when we tell the Government to judge and act for themselves, they sink under the Responsibility, and are able to effect nothing, or make the Want of our Sanction and Support their Excuse for doing nothing. Let the British Government declare that from the Interest it takes in the Welfare of this State it will aid it by Counsel and Support in restoring Order throughout the Country, and in putting down the corrupt and vicious System which has rendered its Administration inert and useless for all good Purposes, and that we expect in return the faithful Discharge of the Obligations of all Treaties by which the State is bound to act in conformity with the Advice of the Governor General, and in virtual Dependence upon the Supreme Government, and let us act firmly up to the Stipulations of existing Treaties, and it may not be too late to save this fine Province without taking the Management of it into our own Hands ; and we may rest assured that such a Declaration will be hailed throughout Oude as the Harbinger of better Days than have been witnessed for Ages, and that all India will applaud the Resolution to secure, without Infringement of Treaties, a better Order of Things for the People of Oude, and, though with Modifications of his absolute Power, the Dignity and Splendour of the Sovereign.

Under such a System it must be a Task of the greatest Difficulty to define the Limit of our Interference. It must be very extensive, and for a Time, I should fear, very minute ; equivalent, in fact, to the virtual Control and Direction of the Administration in all its Branches ; for it can only be by placing the Resident in the Situation of a Counsellor, whose Advice, given in the Name of his Government, the Oude Government will be bound to follow, that any Benefit can arise from its Interference and Control. The Restrictions upon his Interference in the Details of Government, and of his Patronage in deciding upon the Fitness of Individuals proposed to fill important Situations in the State, must be withdrawn, and he must be rendered responsible for the Success of the System which he is to superintend. He must be enabled to guarantee upon the Faith of his Government the Contracts entered into between the King and his Officers or Subjects for the Payment of his Rents ; and under whatever Title or Designation his Right of Interference may be disguised, he must, I fear, be invested with Powers above those of the nominal Sovereign. The only Question that remains is, whether such a System can be preferable to the absolute and avowed Assumption of the Government, and, looking to the Necessity of consulting the Feelings and Prejudices of the World, I think it is : the King would remain unshackled in his Expences, because he happens to possess a still inexhausted Treasury, and it would only be necessary to direct the Appropriation of that Portion of his Income which is required for the Maintenance of the Public Establishments, leaving the Residue at his Disposal ; a short Period, also, would suffice to show how much his Finances might be improved under better Management ; and, for ourselves, we should avoid all Imputation of Breach of Faith, of being actuated by a Spirit of Encroachment, and of desiring to appropriate to ourselves the Wealth of Oude, to which the Assumption of the Government in our own Name could hardly fail to expose us ; and to Considerations of this Nature we cannot attach too much Weight.

An Abstract View of the State of Oude, as gathered from the Persian Papers, &c.

THE Government of Oude is divided into Districts or Chucklas, yielding each a Revenue of from 60,000 Rupees to 24 Lacs of Rupees. They are farmed out to Individuals, who, engaging to pay the stipulated Sum, are, in addition to the Revenue Management, invested with the whole Power, Magisterial and Judicial.

Judicial. If Justice can be said to be an Ingredient in the Government of Oude, they are in short Governors of those Provinces the Revenues of which they engage to pay, and are designated either Aumils, Chuckladars, or Mustagirs.

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Besides such Divisions of Territory, there are various large Jagheers made over to Individuals for the Support of Establishments, and in those Tracts of Country the Jagheerdars also exercise the full Authority of Aumils, and are at liberty to make the most of their Jagheers by raising the Rents to their utmost Extent.

But though farming out the Country to the highest Bidders, to Court Favourites, or to the most successful Intriguers, is the favourite System of Management, there are sometimes Amaunee Aumils placed in charge of Districts; and Amaunee Management, if the Ameen employed happens—a rare Case—to be a Person qualified for such a Trust, is, in the Principle, somewhat similar to the British System of Collection. The Ameen, as the Collector, ought faithfully to lodge all Collections in the Government Treasury, his Salary being a fixed Sum, or a Per-centagè on the Receipts, with a few Perquisites of Office. In addition to his Revenue Authority, he is also local Governor, and has full Powers in all Matters, Civil and Criminal. Amaunee Management appears only to be resorted to when the Rapacity or Mismanagement of the Farmer has ruined the District; or, when it is supposed capable of yielding a higher Revenue, the Ameen is sent to ascertain its full Resources.

The following are the principal Divisions or Districts into which the State is divided:

Number.	Chucklahs or Districts.	Said to contain Muhals.	Average Jumma said to be.
			Rs.
1	Sultanpore - - - - -	19	22,15,000
2	Manekpore - - - - -	2	1,09,000
3	Puchumrat - - - - -	4	4,52,000
4	Selair * - - - - -	11	6,11,000
5	Sundeelah - - - - -	11	14,65,000
6	Mahomdee - - - - -	18	5,12,000
7	Bainswarah - - - - -	22	15,05,000*
8	Kheerabad - - - - -	22	21,00,000
9	Buddoo Seraee * - - - - -	1	61,000
10	Baraich, &c. - - - - -	15	14,78,000
11	Dewa Sitturkan - - - - -	7	4,90,000
12	Dureeabad - - - - -	9	4,11,187
13	Bangermow - - - - -	9	5,12,000
14	Gosaeengunge - - - - -	4	2,78,000
15	Ramnuggur - - - - -	3	1,37,000
16	Nowabgunge - - - - -	1	95,000
	Names of Divisions.		Estimate of yearly Revenue.
17	Lucknow Villages - - - - -		1,10,000
18	Rent for Ground for Brick, Lime, Silus, &c. &c. - - - - -		20,000
19	Abkaree - - - - -		10,000
20	✓ The Farm of the Newspapers - - - - -		1,10,000
21	The Mint - - - - -		15,000
22	Bazars and Gunges - - - - -		2,14,000
23	Saer and Custom Duties - - - - -		2,00,000
24	Chuckla of Shah Jehanabad - - - - -		16,000

* Exclusive of Jagheer of Mulka-Zumanee, Rs. 6,50,000.

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✓ The high and lucrative Situations of Aumils are Prizes too valuable to be obtained without Intrigue and Favour at Court; Bribery and Corruption appear the usual Preliminaries to such Appointments. The Candidate, by powerful Bribes and heavy Nuzzurs to Men of Influence about the Court, or by the strong Female Interest within the Palace, is nominated by the King to the elevated Charge. He gives Security for the Payment of his Revenue Contract, and binds himself by a written Document to maintain a good Government over the extensive Pergunnahs and Muhals entrusted to his Care; he engages to study the Interests of the People, and promote their Welfare; to put down Crime by the Establishment of an efficient Police, and so rule as to increase the Government Revenue. The Period of his Engagement varies from One to Five Years.

The Farmer, rarely chosen from possessing those Virtues essential to the faithful Discharge of his extensive Duties, but, on the contrary, too often selected from Success in Intrigue, or by capricious Court Favour, thus armed with the King's Commission, and full Authority, proceeds to his Charge. In addition to the Government Revenue to be paid into the Treasury, the Aumil generally has to raise from the Peasantry the Amount of the under-hand Bribes and Nuzzurs to the unprincipled Court Officers by which he purchased his Situation, amounting sometimes in large Districts, it may fairly be concluded, to 150,000 Rupees; and after paying these, and collecting the Government Demand, the Aumil has yet to make his own Fortune. He goes then to his District, bent upon Self-aggrandizement, and urged to exact the last Penny from the People by his Anxiety lest his enormous Contract should fall short of its Accomplishment, and plunge him into Difficulties, and perhaps Dishonour, should he fall under the Displeasure of the capricious Court.

✓ As illustrative of this System of purchasing Appointments by Bribery, an Extract from the Public Ukhbar of 9th May 1830 may be quoted. It is there stated, that Moonshee Gholam Murtuza (an influential Man at Court) complained to the King, that when Meindoo Khan Rupadar, the Aumil of Gonda and Baraich, was appointed to his Charge, he engaged to give as a Nuzzur 50,000 Rupees to the Moonshee, and 20,000 Rupees to Maha Rajah Rewa Ram (being 70,000 in Nuzzurs or Bribes in excess to the Government Jumma); but Meindoo Khan Aumil having failed to pay the Money, the Moonshee requested that it might be taken from the Aumil and carried to the Account of Government. The King ordered that it should be paid by Meindoo Khan's Brother in Lucknow; and on that Day 30,000 Rupees in Cash, and 10,000 Rupees in Hoondees, were paid by the Brother, and the Money placed at the King's Disposal by the Moonshee. Ramdial was the Security for this Aumil, Meindoo Khan, and the King also ordered that Ramdial should be held responsible for the Payment into the Treasury of these 70,000 Rupees stipulated for as Nuzzurs to the Moonshee and Rewa Ram. Ramdial requested that the Sum might be credited in his own Accounts with the Government.

✓ Arrived at his Charge, and having appointed his own Umlah or Assistants in Office, the Aumil, if a new Man, finds himself and his Officers Strangers to the People and to the Circumstances of the Country. He is aware that in Self-defence every possible Opposition and Falsehood will be offered by those who have Revenue to pay; thus, distrusting and opposed, he proceeds to examine the Resources of the various Talooks, Muhals, and Villages into which, as Farms, his District is subdivided, and after taking the usual Means of ascertaining the necessary Information, he issues his Dustucks or Summons, commanding all contracting Parties to attend for Settlement at his Cutcherry. ✓ The poor and tractable, who have no Power to resist, obey the Call; but the turbulent or powerful Zemindars, fearing Indignities, or having Troops and Strongholds to uphold their Disobedience, attend not themselves, sending only their Vakeels to treat for Revenue. To deal with such unruly Subjects the Aumil must frequently draw out his Troops and invest their Forts.

✓ The Aumil now, attended by all who come, viewing the Collections for the last Ten or Twenty Years, is said often unmercifully to fix the highest Sums which the Farms may have paid during that Period, and without Reference to the present State or Capabilities of the Villages or Talooks, demands that Jumma, enforcing his Demand by every Argument in his Power; he informs the Farmers that it is optional with him to resume their Farms and place them under Khaus Management; i. e., by discontinuing the Renter, to gather the

Money from the Cultivators themselves. He tells them that the Nankas Grants or Rent-free Land which they may hold are available for Resumption should they fall under Displeasure by exhibiting Disaffection to the Government; and by persuasive Threats, or even personal Chastisement, he obtains from the unfortunate Farmers their Koobuleats or Engagements for an exorbitant Rent; and this is exclusive of various arbitrary Taxes, as Tulubana, Nuzzerana, Zabitana, Umeanee, &c., and Pay for Troops stationed to guard the Crops. Neither does this Engagement make Allowance for Calamity of Seasons, as Blight, Hail, Frost, Floods, or Storms; nor is this all, for Security must be given for Payment, and to obtain this a Per-centage must be paid to the Parties becoming Sureties.

Engagements thus dictated by the selfish and powerful Aumils and his Men in Office the Troops and Means are in his Hands to enforce Collection. Regardless of future Injury to the Country, his Aim being speedy Aggrandisement, he proceeds to collect his Rents, and in such an extensive, unruly Charge, without minute Information of Poverty or Riches, suspecting always that Poverty is falsely pleaded, he enforces Payment by the Sale of Property. The poor People who have no Appeal sell their little all to pay the Sum; their Cattle, the Agricultural Stocks, and even their Household Utensils are all disposed of to meet the Demand of the relentless Revenue Officers. Thus reduced to Poverty, and without Funds to carry on their Farms, they betake themselves to labour for their daily Food, that they may earn a Pittance for themselves and Families; or, forsaking their Homes, they become Wanderers.

A few Seasons of Extortion such as this lays waste the Fields, and throws a Multitude upon the World now almost deprived of honest Means to gain Subsistence. These, driven from their Homes, betake themselves to Crime, and, goaded by Poverty, become Thieves and Robbers, infesting the Country on every Side. The Aumil or his Officers, finding a yearly Decrease of Revenue, are naturally urged to further Exactions, until at length the Kingdom has arrived at such a Crisis that Hundreds of Villages have gone to Ruin, the former Cultivation now a Waste, and the Hamlets once occupied now deserted. Thefts, Robberies, and Murders spring up in all Directions, the Lanes, High Roads, and Streets of the Villages and Cities being endangered.

In some Cases, where the Aumil is unable to fulfil his Contract, he absconds, and leaves Balances due to the State, and his Place is then filled by an Aumanee Aumil, sent, if possible, to repair the Injury the Farmer may have done.

But on these Occasions the poor are the Sufferers; the disobedient Zemindars, who are secured by Forts, and backed by Troops, can almost dictate their own Terms of the Aumils, to whom they pay only as much as they think proper; they insist also upon Reductions in case of Blight, Hail, Frost, &c.

These Zemindars encourage Crime by fostering the Idlers and Thieves who infest the Country.

In the Interior of Oude there is no System of Civil or Criminal Justice, nor can this be expected when the Government of Districts is sometimes intrusted to low Individuals from the meanest Grades of Society. "Nawab Ameer ood Dowlah," for instance, has been raised to the Dignity of an Aumil from the very humble Duties of a Fiddler. His Sister, formerly a Concubine or Nautch Girl, having gained the Royal Favour, is now one of the King's Wives, designated by the Title of "Tauj Muhauls," receiving for the Support of her Dignity a Jagheer, of which her Brother, the "Nawab Ameer ood Dowlah," is the Manager.

In like Manner the Individual placed in charge of Annaw, &c. was formerly the humble Attendant upon Nautch Girls, but has lately been advanced to the Title of "Nowab Allee Bux," through Female Influence in the Palace, and from such Hands the Administration of Justice may not be expected. Aumils refer Cases for Adjustment to the Talookdars, or Farmers contracting with them for the Revenue, but there is no regular Appeal, and no efficient Control at the Head of the Government.

One Engine of Government, the Intelligence Department, is rendered nugatory, because it is usually rented out. These Newswriters are supposed to be Spies and Reporters upon the Public Officers; but the Department of the Intelligence being rented out, the Aumil farms the Newspaper for his own District, and places in his Cutcherry to report his Actions a Creature of

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continued.)

his own. Thus Truth can never reach the Head of the Government; and in the Public Offices of the State there is no one to care for its Prosperity; no one to interest himself in the Removal of Abuses.

Had the Country been blessed with an efficient Ruler, or had those placed by him at the Heads of all Departments been chosen with reference to the Duties entrusted to their Care,—had there been exercised a vigilant Control over every Branch of the Government, Oude might have escaped from the present melancholy Disorder with which it is afflicted.

But even now, if the ruling Authority would give itself for Two or Three Years to remodel the Government, would introduce a thorough Reform into every Branch of the Administration, would establish a reasonable and fixed Revenue for Land, and collect that Revenue at stated and convenient Periods, and would exercise a vigilant Control over its Officers, in Three Years, at most in Five, the Revenues might be doubled.

✓ Tracts of Lands which have been deserted and waste for Years might be brought under Tillage were Puttahs granted for One to Four Annas per Beegah, and were this low Rent continued for Three Years.

But in the wretched Farming or Mustaghury System the Aumils have no Time or Disposition to think of future Improvements in which they may have no Share, their grand Object being speedy Aggrandisement; nor can they be expected to forego immediate present Gains for prospective Increase which shall pass into other Coffers than theirs.

The whole System of Government would seem almost to insure Corruption, Exaction, and Misrule; for in Aumils chosen frequently from the lowest Classes of the People, threatened by the Fear of Imprisonment or Disgrace should they fail to realise the enormous Sums contracted for, unchecked by Principle, and unawed by the Opinion of their Fellow Men, being Strangers usually almost to those they govern, the Desire of Self-aggrandisement, backed by arbitrary Power, and encouraged by a corrupt Time-serving Umlah of their own Creation, must inevitably lead to those Evils which the State of Oude at this Moment exhibits.

It has been shown that the Farming Aumils buy their Appointment by heavy Bribes; such also is the Case with Aumanee Aumils, who must dearly pay for their Nomination; and in addition to the Government Collections they must collect those Bribes from the People to repay themselves.

The following are some of the Abuses practised by the Aumils:—

In Aumanee Management, when the Zemindar comes to contract for a Farm, if its Resources be worth 1,000 Rupees yearly, the Aumil writes in the Government Books only 800 as the Jumma, and 200 Rupees are separately written as Nuzzerana, and appropriated to his own Use.

If a Zemindar has a Nankar or Rent-free Grant under the Signature of the last Aumil, and desires that the Amount may be deducted from the Rent he would otherwise have to pay, the new Aumil makes him give 200 Rupees as Nuzzerana instead of 100 Rupees.

The poor Cultivators are ruined by Weight of arbitrary Taxes, as Fullana, Zabitan, Nuzzerana, Sugawullee, &c. In 1,000 Rupees paid by them, 200 are in those unjust Demands. The unruly Zemindars, however, will not submit to such Exactions.

In the Decision of litigated Causes, Nuzzurs are taken from both Litigants, as "Cheekerana."

Powerful Zemindars oppress the poor Cultivators by obtaining Possession of their Lands, because, when by the Oppression of the Aumil Lands have fallen out of Cultivation from the Poverty of the Cultivators, and a Farm yielding once 2,000 Rupees can now only pay 500 Rupees, the powerful Zemindar comes forward with the Offer to take the ruined Farm, and for placing him in possession the Aumil receives 500 Rupees in Nuzzerana. The new Man pays from One to Four Annas per Beegah for Four Years or even Five; the old Farmer thus ousted is reduced to Distress, and if he at all resist he is exposed to the Power of the Zemindar, and finds it difficult to live in the Village.

The People suffer Loss by the Number of Instalments on the Payment of their Rents, as the Aumils sometimes fix so many as Ten, Eleven, or even Twelve Kists in the Year gained by Nuzzerana.

Aumanee Aumils make Money by receiving Bribes at the Time of Measurement of Lands. Thus, where there may be Five or Six Maunds per Beegah, the

the Aumil is bribed by Ten or Twenty Rupees to write only One or Two Maunds per Beegah, to the Loss of Government; and where there are Ten Beegahs of Land which ought to pay to Revenue the Aumil is bribed by Ten or Twelve Rupees to take off a few Beegahs.

Both Mustajeeree and Aumanee Aumils make great and illegal Profits at the Time of closing the yearly Accounts, by deducting from the Aumanee various Items under the Head of Zabitana, Amilana, Fulbana, Batta for bad Grain, Chulun, &c. The whole of the Aumil Officers here profit at the Expence of the Cultivator.

The Aumanee Aumil derives much Gain by charging a Per-centage for the Test of Examination of Rupees passing through his Hands, under the Head of Nakadee Money.

When the Country has been ruined by a Farmer, and Balances are due, an Aumanee Manager is sent, vested with Authority to make Remissions; and where he sees Balances of Years, and Poverty in the People, he cancels the Debt to Government, receiving; however, for his own Use, a Nuzzer of Thanks; and in other Cases, where he finds Balances, and Ability to pay them, he collects the Money; but by virtue of his Authority to grant Remission he writes in the Government Accounts as remitted the Sum which he has collected, and appropriates the Money to his own Use.

It is essentially necessary to the good Government of Oude that the Aumils, whether Farmers or Aumeens, should be upright, able Men, acting under a vigilant Control from the Head of the Government; whereas now the State has gone to Ruin by a vicious System of Self-aggrandisement, uncontrolled by the higher Authority.

Although the following Statement of Nuzzerana, said to have been stipulated for by Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, the late Minister, when in Power, may be much exaggerated, yet if the real Sums bear any Proportion to the Statement, it will show the immense Sums diverted from the general Treasury into the Coffers of an Individual.

The District of Sultanpore is said to have paid him	-	Rs. 5,00,000
Bainswarra, not including other Gifts	-	Rs. 2,00,000
Manikpore Behare, under Gholam Hossein	-	Rs. 23,000
Punchum Ratund Goolzaree Mull	-	Rs. 50,000
Selun, under Durdur Sing	-	Rs. 50,000
Sundeelah, under Washed Alees Khan	-	Rs. 1,00,000
Mohumdee, under Sah Beharee Lall	-	Rs. 75,000
Kheirobad, under — *	-	Rs. 1,00,000
Budoor Seraee, under Gholamee	-	Rs. 10,000
Baraich and Goodahundee Meerhadee	-	Rs. 2,00,000
Dewa Sunk, under Buddree Doss	-	Rs. 75,000
Deraobad, under Sahjee	-	Rs. 25,000
Banger Mow, under Bapee Lall	-	Rs. 50,000
Gosaeengunge, under Faker Mah ^d	-	Rs. 25,000
Ramnugger, under Soorut Sing and Mendookhan	-	Rs. 25,000
Nuwabgunge, under Mendookhan	-	Rs. 15,000
The Gunges, under Gholam Hossein	-	Rs. 10,000
Manufactures	-	Rs. 10,000
Hoozoor Lupseil, under Maharaja Mona Rum	-	Rs. —
Villages of Lucnow	-	Rs. 10,000
Doal of Sale of Cattle	-	Rs. 2,00,000

If Sums to this Amount have been appropriated by One Individual, it may be judged to what Extent must be the Defalcations in the Treasury, when to this is added the Appropriation of all Aumils and Contractors by Leases far below the actual Collections. It is said that the Aumils share amongst them nearly Fifty Lacs of Rupees yearly.

The Police of Oude, like every other Department, requires Reform. During the late Reign a Reform was urged upon the Attention of the King, and he

* Name omitted in the Original.

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(continued.)

accessed to it. Great Abuses had prevailed. The Aumils were allowed a Deduction from the Collections of One Rupee Eight Annas per Cent. for the Purpose of keeping up the Police, but as the Police was farmed out, the Aumils in their own Districts appropriated the Money, instead of keeping up the Establishment. The King therefore, without Loss, had this Fund, amounting to about One Lac and 40,000 Rupees, for the Expences of the new Establishment, and he determined to keep the Appointment of the Thannahdars in the Hands of Government, instead of leaving them to be filled by the Aumils. Scarcely however had the new System been set on foot, and it extended to the District of Mahomder, Burgernow, Shahabad, Mohommedabad, Baree, and Seewan, also to Mulleeawa, than Ramdial set his Face against it, and effectually prevented its taking Root. He instructed the Aumils and the Dependants on himself to oppose it, and to resume the Pay of the Thannahdars. The Aumils readily co-operated in Instructions so profitable to themselves. They proclaimed it in their Districts that the Thannahdars were abolished, and they gave out, as formerly, that the Police was under their Authority, and that it was not rented out to them. The Thannahdars, receiving no Pay, were in great Distress; the People were forbidden to apply to them, in fact their Functions were at an end, and many returned to the Presence; and thus was frustrated that Attempt. No Attention is now given to the Subject, and the Disorder which prevails on every Side particularly require efficient Police Arrangements. It is true that there has lately been appointed, as Superintendent of the City Police, one Mumun, a Khawas high in favour with the King, and designated by the Title of Darogah of "Urbabinishal," or Master of the Revels; but he was formerly a humble Menial, and the Son of a Saees*; though well suited to administer to the Royal Pleasure, he gives no Promise in his new Department of Police. Under the present Ruler it is vain to expect any efficient Arrangements for the Protection of the People against the accumulated Evils of Exaction, Oppression, and a disordered Country, unless by British Influence. The King might be influenced to establish Courts of Justice and a good Police, much to the Relief of an injured People, but this only through British Councils.

Such Institutions, however, would in many Places be almost nugatory, from the prevailing Disorder of the District. Khercibad, for instance, is represented to abound with turbulent and refractory Zemindars, each having Followers, and Power to hold light even the Order of the Aumil, unless backed by his Troops. Several having Forts: one, Bugut Sing, in particular, is said to have nearly 2,000 or 3,000 Seapoys ready for Action; with Seven or Eight Guns, and a strong Fort with a deep Ditch. Aeen Sing of Bareighur is another of these refractory Men, of whom, for the Number of his Followers, his Fort, and haughty unruly Disposition, the Aumil stands in Awe. Many more could be mentioned, who, contributing largely to the Revenues by possessing extensive Tracts of Country, have naturally great Influence over the Population under them. They are said to give Encouragement to Idlers and Vagabonds who infest the Country, thus encouraging instead of checking the growing Evil. Courts of Justice or Police in such Districts, &c., would be set at nought by the Zemindars and their Followers. The Zemindars, therefore, must first be reduced to Obedience; but this cannot be effected without removing the Cause of their Turbulence,—Exactions and Oppressions on the Part of the Aumils, and the intrusting of too great Talooks to the Zemindars themselves, who, feeling their Power by having many Pergunnahs under them, whose Population, eager for Reduction of high Rents, encourage Opposition, have strong Temptation to Disobedience. In short, Reform, to be successful, must begin at the Fountain Head, by the remodelling of the Aumils and their Charges.

* A Saees or Sice is a Groom.

NOTE of a CONFERENCE between the GOVERNOR GENERAL and the KING of OUDH, at a private Interview at the Lucknow Residency on Thursday the 20th January 1831. Present, Mr. PRINSEP, Mr. MADDOCK, and Captain BENSON. (Received 22d March 1832.)

AFTER being seated in a retired Apartment, the King was asked by the Governor General whether or not he desired the Presence of his Minister Mehdee Allee Khan. The Answer being in the Affirmative, the Minister was summoned from the Antechamber.

The Governor General then, addressing the King, observed, that in seeking the present Meeting he had in view, as he concluded his Majesty had been given to understand, to explain his Sentiments respecting the Administration of Oudh. He trusted his Majesty was sensible that the Intentions of the Honourable Company towards himself were most friendly, earnestly desiring that he should continue to enjoy his exalted Station, and that his true Happiness and the Prosperity of the People of his Dominions should be promoted. For his own Part, the Governor General assured the King that no Man could be more solicitous than himself to maintain the Honour, Independence, and Dignity of all the Native Princes and Chiefs subject to the paramount Authority of the British Government, and to support the Integrity of subsisting Engagements; and he could give no stronger Proof of his Sincerity upon this Point, and of his Desire to increase rather than diminish their Consequence, and to extend their Rights, than by the voluntary Transfer to the Rajah of Nagpore of Two Thirds of his Territory, the perpetual Administration of which had been vested in the British Government. The Character of the Prince, and his Attention to Business, established the Security that this Confidence could be safely given. How much more Interest must the Governor General feel in his Majesty, to whom he was personally known. It was, therefore, with proportionate and sincere Regret he was compelled to declare to the King, that the Revenue and Judicial Administration of his Territories was reported to be shamefully defective.

The King here interposing, begged to know if the Governor General would permit a Reply to his Observations.

The Governor General answered that he would be glad to attend to the King's Reply when he had finished his Communication; and proceeded to remark, that the Conduct of the King's Revenue Officers was everywhere denounced as oppressive and unjust, their Rapacity being exercised with such baneful Success as to have brought Ruin upon many of his Subjects, to have caused the general Decline of Agriculture, and to have exposed to Danger the Tranquillity of the Country. The Governor General said he feared the current Reports of great Mismanagement in both Financial and other Concerns could not be refuted, for they were confirmed by the Complaints of actual Sufferers, by the Statements of all the Oudh Dominions, by the Condition of the Districts he had passed through, and by the Fact that in almost every Direction might be heard the Sound of Cannon for the Purpose of repressing the Insurrections of Zemindars, or for enforcing the Payment of Revenue.

Here the King and his Minister both intimated a Wish to offer Explanation as the Governor General might finish each Part of his Discourse, urging as a Reason for such Wish the Difficulty of recurring with Precision at the Conclusion of the whole of the several Heads of Animadversion; or, if it would be acceptable, the Minister suggested that a written Answer should be received. This Proposal was acceded to.

In continuation the Governor General said he considered it his Duty to impress forcibly upon the King's Mind that the British Government could not, with any Regard to the Engagements contained in the Treaty of 1801, to Justice or Policy, or to its own Reputation, longer allow a System of Administration which abandoned a whole People to Cruelty and Extortion, nor could it longer countenance a State of Things which might imminently affect the National Interest.

The Governor General then adverted to the numerical Strength of the King's Troops, stating he had Reason to apprehend that the King maintained

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Fifty or Sixty thousand Men, a much larger Military Force than the Stipulations of the Treaty of 1801 sanctioned. By that Treaty the Head of the Oudh Government agreed to retain in his Pay only Four Battalions of Infantry, 2,000 Cavalry, and 300 Artillery, with such Details of Subandees in the Mofussil as the due Realization of the Revenue might require. The Oudh Territories, the Governor General observed, being protected from external Enemies, were its internal Peace preserved by a System of beneficent Administration the Force fixed by the Treaty of 1801 would be ample. He therefore expected the Stipulations of the Treaty would in this respect be observed; and he pressed the early but gradual Reduction of the Force on the further Grounds of the Mismanagement of the King's Financial Concerns, and the consequent Irregularity which attended the Payment of it.

Here followed a Conversation, chiefly maintained by the Minister, with an occasional Indication of Assent from the King to the Correctness of his Statements. The Minister remarked, that since entering Office, only a few Months before, he had discharged the Arrears due to the Troops, had arranged for regular periodical Payments in future, and had already disbanded 8,000 Men. The Governor General's Wish for further Reduction should be complied with; but he begged to assure the Governor General he had received an exaggerated Account of the Numbers of the King's Troops. The Governor General, at the Conclusion of the Interview, requested the King to allow the Minister to bring to him on the following Day an exact Return of the Army, the Governor General expressing his further Wish to communicate with the Minister upon the Revenue Administration generally.

The Governor General now exhorted the King to introduce into his Dominions an improved System of Administration in every respect, especially in the Revenue Department. On the King's promptly engaging so to do, the Governor General reminded him, that for Twenty Years or more the British Government had endeavoured, without Success, to improve the Judicial and Revenue Management of Oudh, and that during that Period repeated Assurances of Amendment had been given, and that he might therefore, without so far derogating from his Majesty's Character as to suppose him indifferent to the bringing about the Reform recommended, be allowed to distrust hasty Promises. However he entertained Hopes, that, under the Orders of the King, the Minister, Mehdee Alli Khan, in whose Ability and Experience he placed great Reliance, such an improved System of Administration would have Effect as should remove many internal Causes of Irritation, exempt the Inhabitants from Oppression, be creditable to the King himself, and consistent with the Obligations of existing Treaties, and the Attention due to the Wishes of the Supreme Power. The Selection of Mehdee Ali Khan as his Minister had been the whole and sole Act of his Majesty, and viewing the Ability and Qualifications of that Individual, the Governor General considered the Selection to be a good one; but the Governor General urged the King to understand that the entire Responsibility of the Acts of the Oudh Government must rest with his Majesty himself. The Governor General, therefore, had abstained from interfering in this important Measure, and had declined conferring upon the Minister the Dress of Investiture, according to his Majesty's Request.

Mehdee Ali Khan here observed, that his Nomination was unsolicited; that he had been summoned to Lucknow with a view to his Appointment by the King, and with the Sanction of Mr. Maddock. Some Conversation which had commenced was terminated by the Governor General's saying, that it was unnecessary to discuss the Manner of the Nomination.

The Governor General, again addressing the King, said, that feeling as he did that the Administration of Oudh had reached that Extremity of Evil which imperiously called for Interference, he deemed it his Duty frankly to communicate to his Majesty the Intention of offering to the Home Authorities his Advice, that if, disregarding the present Representation, his Majesty should still neglect to apply a Remedy to the existing Disorder and Misrule, it would then become the bounden Duty of the British Government to assume the direct Management of the Oudh Dominions.

The Minister here spoke confidently, but in general Terms, of bringing about a better State of Things, attributing the present Confusion to the System followed for the last Ten or Twelve Years, when he had no Participation in the Conduct of Affairs. He hoped for the Resident's Countenance.

The Governor General urged the King seriously to reflect on the Examples which the History of former neighbouring States presented. They showed the Consequences, as affecting Rulers and their Families, of regarding with Indifference the Vices of Mal-administration, and the Rapacity and Oppression of unprincipled Officers. On looking round he would perceive that the Descendants of those who had persisted in a profligate Course of Misrule were mere Pensioners, divested of Power and of Consequence. The Moorshedabad and Arcot Families were adduced as Instances.

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The Governor General assured the King of the perfect Reliance he might place in the good Faith of the British Government, and of the great Repugnance that would be felt in adopting any Measure interfering with his Rights and Privileges; but, as his Well-wisher and Friend, he could not refrain from placing before his Majesty the very great Advantages that would accrue to the paramount Authority by the Exercise of this Right of Assumption, and the extreme Importance, therefore, of persevering in a Course which Self-interest as well as Justice might equally counsel. Were the British Government disposed to aggrandize itself, the Oudh Territories, encircled by its own, possessing a Soil, Climate, and Population not equalled, perhaps, in any other Part of India, and the Birthplace of a great Proportion of its Army, would form a most valuable Acquisition; the British Frontier Districts would no longer be exposed to the Excesses that have been so often and so long a Subject of Complaint, and the great Revenues of this fine Country be collected without the Cost of an additional Soldier to its actual Force. But his Majesty well knew that the British Government would listen to no such Temptation, in opposition to its Engagements; and the Governor General, in conclusion, urged his Majesty that he would no longer be deceived by the Forbearance already manifested towards him, but urgently and seriously following the Advice now given, he would immediately introduce a general System of Reform of his Administration, which, while it conduced to his own Honour and Advantage, would at once satisfy every Demand of the British Government.

The Governor General said he had concluded his Communication. He renewed his Assurances of friendly Disposition towards the King on the Part of the Government, and of himself promised, that what had passed during this private Conference should be transmitted to the King in Writing, when an Answer might be returned.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

No. 5.

No. 5.
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COPY of a Letter from Mr. MADDOCK to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., Secretary to the Governor General, at Head Quarters, dated Lucknow Residency, 12th April 1831. (Received 22d March 1832.)

Sir,

His Majesty visited the Residency on Sunday last, when the enclosed Letter, to the Address of "The Right Honourable the Governor General," was delivered to me for Transmission to his Lordship.

I was requested to peruse the Letter; but in consequence of its Length, and the Impatience which I knew the King would evince if detained while I read it, I desired the Minister to explain to me the Substance, which he accordingly did in a few Words, but omitting to allude to those Parts of the Letter which relate to himself and the Ex-minister. He begged me to peruse and to give him my Opinion respecting the Letter the next Day (Yesterday), when he would call upon me; and, in expectation of seeing him according to his Promise, I have detained the Letter. The Minister was, however, prevented from calling upon me by severe Indisposition, which by Night assumed so alarming an Appearance that his Life was considered in Danger, and his Recovery is now spoken of as doubtful. On this account, and as his con-

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sulting me on the Subject of the Letter was to be considered merely complimentary, I have not thought it necessary to detain it longer.

It is my Intention to address the Governor General regarding a Conversation on another Subject, which passed in my Interview with the King and the Minister on Sunday.

Lucknow Residency,
12th April 1831.

(Signed)

I. H. MADDOCK,
Resident.

No. 6.

No. 6.

LETTER from His Majesty the King of OUDE, received 10th April 1831.
(Received 22d March 1832.)

After Compliments,

By the Receipt of the Note drawn up by your Lordship's Orders on the Subject of the private Conference which took place between us on the 20th January last, every Word of which is replete with the Expression of your Kindness, and also of your Attention towards the Welfare of my Government, I have derived a high Degree of Gratification and Comfort of Mind. How can it be otherwise, since there exists not a Shadow of Misunderstanding between the Two powerful States, and the firm Establishment of the Fabric of this Government entirely rests upon your Lordship's good Offices and Attentions? Enough. But what has given me most Satisfaction, in the present Instance, is the Perusal of that Part of your Lordship's Note which refers to the Merits of the Nawab Moontizimood Dowlah Nazim ool Moolk Mehdee Alli Khan Buhadoor Sepahdar Jung. Your Lordship has written, that my having at this Time sent for the Nawab, and raised him to the exalted Station of Prime Minister, is a Proof of my having at Heart the Improvement of my Affairs, and a Reformation of the System of Administration; that of a Truth the Measure was wise, and likely to be beneficial; for the Nawab is a Man of Intelligence and Experience in worldly Affairs, and particularly skilled in all Branches of internal Administration, &c. God be thanked that the Choice made by me has thus met with your Lordship's Approbation! Your Lordship's declared Opinion of the said Nawab has indeed afforded a wonderful Encouragement and Comfort to my Mind; and relying on your Lordship's Discernment and Appreciation of Character, I propose briefly to recapitulate some Instances of the good Conduct of this able Minister, as follows:

My Grandfather, his Excellency the Nawab Sadut Alli Khan Buhadoor, who was unparalleled in discerning the Qualities of Mankind, and famed among English Gentlemen for his Experience and Understanding, having approved of the Conduct of Nawab Mehdee Alli Khan, committed to his Charge the Management of Revenue and Judicial Affairs, and managed the whole of the Business of the State, in concert with him, until his Demise.

It is clear as Noonday that since the Newab's Arrival at my Court during the short Period of his Administration, although he has not been in Office long enough to attain full Confidence, but on the contrary has laboured under much Anxiety in several respects; nevertheless he has adopted such decisive Measures that the turbulent and evil-disposed People were at once checked; and Sheodeen and others having been captured, Tranquillity and Peace is now completely re-established in the Country; the Arrears of Salaries for several Years of the Dependants and Servants of the State have been paid; and Disturbances, which generally occurred during the Mohurram, through the Neglect of the Public Officers, were last Year entirely quelled; besides all this the Newab has reformed and set Limits to the Public Expenditure, incurring only such Expences as were necessary and proper, and, at great Sacrifice of his own immediate Interest, dismissing all superfluous Establishments, and reducing the Forces, &c. in a Degree and with a Rapidity that no other Individual could have been able to carry through.

One of the wise and energetic Reforms of the said Newab is, that he has prepared a Book of Regulations for the Administration of the Country, founded on the Principles of Government which prevailed for Seventeen Years during the Time of the Vizier Sadut Allie Khan, and were the Cause of so much

much Improvement. He has furnished a Copy of this Book to each of the Tehsildars for their Guidance, and forbidding any one to act contrary to the Rules therein prescribed. During this short Period also the Insurgents of the Chucklas of Mohumdee and Khyrabad have been punished, and their Fortresses destroyed, without the Adoption of hostile Measures.

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✓In consequence of the Promulgation of the Regulations referred to, the Ryots now appear and voluntarily enter into Engagements, taking Pottahs for a Period of from Three to Five Years, without any Resort to Coercion and forcible Seizures. The Benefit that has even in this short Period resulted to all Classes of the Ryots, and the Subjects generally of the Government, is extreme, and they are grateful and contented. The Case is the same with the Merchants and Traders. The Mercantile Concerns of this Territory were entirely put a stop to, and likewise the Carriage of precious Metals discontinued, for during the past Thirteen Years the Mahajeens, for Fear of Robbers, have been afraid to bring Bullion or Articles of Merchandize into the Country; but all Kind of Trade has now revived, under the Management of the new Minister. Lacks of Dollars have been already imported, and are now daily dispatched from Benares and Calcutta, and the People of this Country travel to and fro without any Fear or Apprehension. All these Facts can be ascertained by References. The wronged, who experienced no Justice for a long Time, are now heard before any thing else is attended, and Redress afforded to them. This is a Specimen of the Improvements already introduced by the present Minister.

The same good Management was heretofore displayed by him as Aumil of Khyrabad, Mohumdee, &c., a Country yielding an annual Rent of Thirty Lacks of Rupees, so much so that his Excellency the Marquis of Hastings, having had Occasion to pass through that Part of the Country in his Tour through Hindoostan, greatly commended the improved State of those Chucklas, in a Letter dated 26th Jumadecoolawul 1233, A. H., to the Address of his late Majesty. Moreover, his Lordship was highly pleased with the Measures adopted by the said Nawab Mehdee Alli Khan, for the Protection of the Roads, and for capturing Parties of Shigholkhores and other Criminals, and for suppressing Associations of Robbers and Thieves. Accordingly, a Letter was written to the Nawab, in approbation of his Conduct, by Mr. Monckton, the Resident at Lucknow, under the Orders of his Lordship, a Copy of which is herewith enclosed. On a Reference to several of the Gentlemen who were Eye-witnesses of the improved State of the Territory under the Management of Nawab Mehdee Allee Khan, as well as of the Prosperity of the Ryots at that Time, and who are now in attendance on your Lordship, the Conduct of the said Nawab will be apparent.

During the Reign of the late King Agha Meer after succeeded in procuring the Removal of the above-named Nawab, and compelled him to leave Lucknow, and to reside for several Years in the Honourable Company's Dominions, and in the meantime by his evil Government entirely laid waste and devastated the Country.

My Prayer to the Almighty now is, that the Administration of my Territory may, through the Instrumentality of the present Minister, be placed in a very few Years on such a Footing as to be entirely satisfactory to your Lordship and to the British Government; but of course it will be some Time before my Wishes can be gratified, for when a Talook or a Village becomes out of order Things cannot be restored in a Moment; how then, without Time, can the Affairs of a whole Country that has been ruined be replaced on its former Footing?

After the Proofs given by me of a sincere Desire for the Reformation of the Country in the Appointment of this Minister, whose incessant Exertions have been devoted to effect this Object, how can I be justly blamed for Neglect, or taken to task for the Mal-administration which has prevailed?

I cannot entirely deny the Existence of Mismanagement in my Country, but it must be ascribed to the Conduct of Agha Meer, with whom it originated. The Correspondence on this Subject, during his Ministership, is a Proof of this Fact. How should it be otherwise? For Thirteen Years the Ex-minister kept his Majesty entirely uninformed, and blinded him to all that passed, taking into his own Hands the Management of all Affairs. His late Majesty was
(130.)
entirely

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(continued.)

entirely negligent, even of the State of his Treasure and Property, nay, of his Family and Relations.

It is evident that a Princee cannot himself manage all the Affairs of his State; God must give him trustworthy Officers and Ministers. But how can I be responsible for the Misrule and Anarchy which prevailed in my Country during the Reign of his late Majesty, owing to the Conduct of Agha Meer, and his having kept his Majesty for Thirteen Years in a State of Apathy, regardless of all worldly Affairs? That ungrateful Minister, by encouraging in his Majesty the Use of intoxicating Drugs and Liquors, caused him to be as one beside himself, insomuch that Matters could hardly be represented to him. Seeing no Remedy, I refrained from taking on myself the Duties of Heir Apparent, and for many Years I was obliged to live in Privacy and Retirement; a Circumstance which cannot but afford Proof of Agha Meer's having blinded his late Majesty to his Interests and true Dignity; for the King had only One Son, myself, whom he had appointed his Heir Apparent by the Sanction of the Head of the British Government, and to whom he was very partial. That he should withdraw his paternal Affection from a Son so favoured, and treat him with Neglect, without Cause, is a Proof, than which there can be none stronger, of the Manner in which he was treated by Agha Meer. The Case is this: His late Majesty, about the Time of the Arrival of his Excellency the Marquis of Hastings as Governor General of this Presidency, while Sadah Alli was still living, at the Suggestion and under the Persuasion of Nawab Montzimid Dowlah Bahadar, made a Vow of Repentance, and abjured the Use of all intoxicating Liquors, &c; but afterwards, Agha Meer, having procured himself to be appointed Prime Minister through the Impositions he practised upon Colonel J. Baillee when Lord Hastings was at Lucknow, began to behave ungratefully. His late Majesty at that Time continued in good Health and of sound Mind, filling his Throne becomingly, and never having recourse to intoxicating Drugs and Liquors; but subsequently the said Agha Meer accompanied me to Furruckabad, on my Visit to his Excellency the Marquis of Hastings, and soon after his Return, in consequence of some Intrigues and Misconduct, he was put in Prison. In this Situation he continued for Two Years, when by various Intrigues and Artifices he excited the Compassion of her Royal Highness my Mother, and through her Recommendation, as well as that of his late Majesty, he was appointed my Naib. As his Situation was once like that of a Deer wounded by a Huntsman, he thought that should his late Majesty continue to possess his Senses and Faculties his Intrigues would be of no Avail, but on the contrary would tend to bring similar Distresses upon him as before; under this Persuasion he contrived to incline his Majesty to Habits of Debauchery and Intoxication, and caused People of notorious Character to be in his Majesty's Company, to whom Agha Meer gave specific Instructions to keep his Majesty always intoxicated.

Although the late King was by no means disposed to break his Vow of Repentance, yet he was unable to withstand the repeated Temptations to which he was subject. Every Evening Agha Meer sent to my Father the strongest Kind of Liquors from his own Habitation, by drinking which his Majesty Day and Night continued in a State of Intoxication. This Habit increased upon him so much that he was obliged to discontinue visiting the Resident twice a Week, has had been the Practice, and in future visited him only once in One or Two Months, and then only for an Hour. Accordingly for several Years Agha Meer did what he liked. He embezzled the Treasure, and impoverished the Resources of the Country, and in the End, had it not been for the Aid and Protection of the British Government, he would have entirely ruined this State. Such Conduct, without Doubt, merited Punishment; but what can I do, since the British Government has become his Protector, in consequence of the Obligations of an Engagement which his Artifices induced them to contract. In short, the Misrule and Mismanagement of the Country have been occasioned solely by the Conduct of Agha Meer during the Reign of his late Majesty, and are not of my Time.

My constant Wishes are that my Ryots and Subjects should always continue in the Enjoyment of Peace and Tranquillity, and that the wronged should obtain Redress. With this view, whenever an Officer has not afforded me Satisfaction, I have appointed another in his Room. Among the former Officers of

Government.

Government I found none who were competent to the proper Management of Affairs. On this Score I am not open to Blame. Among the present Chiefs of Hindoostan, where is he who is able of himself to manage all the Affairs of his State? However gifted and well disposed the Ruler may be, he can effect nothing except through the Instrumentality of faithful and confidential Officers. Having now appointed Montezimoodah to be my Minister, I have no Doubt that every thing will be adjusted.

No. 6.
(continued.)

The Existence of Disturbances on the Frontiers of the Two Governments is a Subject for Consideration. If any should have occurred, it shall be my endeavour to remedy the Evil. But wherever the Magistrates of the different Zillahs complain of this Government, in order to exempt their own Conduct from Scrutiny, I trust that your Lordship will do me the Justice to refer to the Proceedings of the Case, that it may be ascertained what State the Prisoners belong to, from whence they came, and in what Direction they were going, for the greater Part of the Territories dependent on the vast Dominions of the Honourable Company are situated at a great Distance from my small Country; and even should some of the Criminals appear to be the Inhabitants of this Country, this Circumstance is no Proof of Criminality, nor can it afford any Ground of Blame.

With regard to what your Lordship has committed to Writing on the Subject of certain Matters, I beg to state, that, on Consideration, the British Government will recollect that only a short Time ago it greatly exalted the Dignity of this State by conferring upon the Ruler the Title of King. By this Act the Fame of our Dignity has been diffused, not only throughout Hindostan and England, but throughout every other Country. How is it then possible, that after being exalted to so high a Rank this State should ever be destroyed? In truth its Foundations rest upon the Stability of the British Government; and it is impossible that an Act which would be the Cause of Astonishment to the whole World should ever be contemplated towards this Kingdom by a Government which has always shown a Desire of promoting its Prosperity and Welfare. I may add, that the Possibility of the Abolition and Destruction of this State has never entered into the Imagination either of the People of India or of Europe. It is inconceivable that the British Government, after conferring upon me such high Powers and Dignity, should think of suddenly depriving me of them, leaving me powerless and insignificant, as a Picture or Statue. If indeed it should, upon what Ground or for what Fault? for since my Accession to my hereditary Throne it has always been my Study to consult the Wishes of the British Government. Should the Government be actuated in the Adoption of this Measure by the Mismanagement which is alleged to prevail in this Country, I beg to represent that the alleged Mismanagement originated during the Time of his late Majesty, and that it has not been since increased.

The Nawab Montezim ood Dowlah, in consequence of the Kindness shown to him by your Lordship on the Occasion of your late Visit to Lucknow, feeling secure and confident in his Appointment as Prime Minister, is Day and Night employed in arranging the Affairs of the State; and I hope that in a short Time every thing will be satisfactorily adjusted. If, however, my Exertions should fail, and I should be reproached with Mismanagement and Carelessness, I shall be led to think that the English Government have entirely relinquished their former Practice of assisting this State with their Advice and Influence. The British Government have always contributed to the Prosperity of the State of Oude, and his Excellency the Marquis of Hastings invariably showed great Attention and Kindness towards my late Father; I also hope to experience similar Marks of Attention from your Lordship.

At the Time of the War in the Deccan with the Mahrattas, the Rebellion at Benares, the Siege of Bhurutpore, the Campaigns against Nepaul, and those against the Peishwah, this Government did not fail to display its Zeal and Friendship by the Loan of Money, Horses, Elephants, and Troops.

The Correspondence relative to the Conduct of this State towards the British Interests, in accordance with the Regulations of mutual Friendship and Concord, from the Time of his Excellency the late Nawab Vizier Thoja ood Dowlah up to the present Date, is forthcoming among the Public Records. These Facts are publicly known, and can never be forgotten by the World. If, therefore, for some Years past, owing to the Incompetency of the Public

No. 6. Officers, the Affairs of this Country have fallen into Confusion, yet, by God's
(continued.) Grace, it cannot be said that I have disregarded the Interests or Advice of the
British Government to such an Extent as to deserve its Displeasure, and
render it desirous of destroying the Foundation of this State, and the Treaties
which have existed for so many Years between the Two Governments; how is
it possible that so great and just a Government can meditate such an Act?

Your Lordship has kindly held up as an Example the Conduct of the Rajah
of Nagpore.

The Relations of Amity and Concord between the Two States have been so
well and so firmly established, that the Fame of it has been diffused throughout
the Universe, and become a Theme of general Remark and Admiration
among the People of Persia and Arabia, so that there existed no Suspicion of
the Possibility of Discord ever taking place. Under these Circumstances, the
Desire of Government to deprive me of my Authority without any Fault on
my Part cannot be considered to have been really entertained, but merely held
out as a Warning.

Formerly it was the customary Practice for the Governors General, as well
as the Residents, to give their Advice in regard to the Management of the
Affairs of this State, so that no Occasion for Blame could arise. I am not
aware of having committed any Fault which should cause the above Practice
to be all at once done away with. It having been so is the Source of great
Inquietude to my Mind, for when the Ryots and other Subjects of this State
learn that the English Government have entirely withdrawn from affording
me their Aid, the Power of this State will be considerably lessened, and its
Dignity lowered in the Eyes of the Public, for the Power and Strength of this
State entirely depends upon the Assistance and Protection of the English
Government. The Public acknowledge, that through the Aid and Assistance
of the British Government this Family has been raised from the Rank of
Grand Vizier to that of King.

As the Prosperity of this State, and the Power and Authority of my Father
and Grandfather, were established through the Kindness and Attention of his
Excellency the Marquis of Hastings, and of the Right Honourable the Earl of
Amherst, I hope that the same may be now re-established in a greater Degree,
through your Lordship's Consideration and good Offices. His Excellency the
Marquis of Hastings was so kind as to address a Letter to his late Majesty,
dated 29th Showal 1232, A.H., in which his Lordship made use of Language
highly favourable to me, which was calculated to raise my Honour and
Respectability.

During the Reign of his late Majesty, owing to the Conduct of Agha
Meer, I enjoyed no Rest whatever, and for Two Years afterwards I suffered
great Distress and Uneasiness in consequence of the Disorders occasioned to
the Affairs of the State by unfit and incompetent Officers.

Now, through the Favour of the Almighty, and under your Lordship's
Auspices, I have procured a most worthy Minister (Hakeem Mehdie Alli
Khan), and I hope, that through your Lordship's Kindness, I shall live in
Ease and Safety, and that my Subjects may pass their Time in Comfort and
Tranquillity, constantly offering Prayers for the Prosperity of the Two
Governments.

In conclusion, I beg to request that your Lordship will write to the Resident,
to assist me, as formerly, with his Advice and Influence, so that the Prosperity
and Welfare of this Government, as well as its Power and Authority, may be
increased. I have further to solicit, that the Resident may be instructed how
to act in respect to the Reduction of the Troops, whose Continuance is a
Source of useless Expence, that he may afford me, whenever it may be
necessary, the Aid of the British Forces, agreeably to the Obligations of the
Treaty, as well as to the Terms of the Note under Acknowledgment.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) E. C. RAVENSHAW, Dep. Sec.

Enclosure in the above.

No. 6.
(continued.)

A Letter, written by Mr. Monckton, Resident at Lucknow, to Nawab Mehdie Alli Khan, dated 10th March 1819, under the Orders of Governor General, in approbation of his Conduct, and his Exertions in capturing the Shigholkhores and other Malefactors in the District of Goruckpore, and in impeding the Progress of the Robbers and Thieves, &c.

(True Abstracts.)

(Signed) E. C. RAVENSHAW, Dep. Sec.

No. 7.

No. 7.

STATEMENT of Troops stationed in the Country. (Received 22d March 1832.)

Names of Chucklahs.	NUMBER OF TROOPS.				Amount of Pay.		
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Total.			
Purtabghur - -	91	1,587	101	1,780	1.12.903	8	9
Akburpore - -	—	1,506	132	1,638	83.907	3	3
Sooltanpore - -	90	3,942	95	4,127	2.31.507	1	0
Ruddowlee - -	24	1,813	106	1,943	1.05.230	5	0
Buddoosawe - -	25	192	10	227	—		
Buhraeteh - -	125	840	121	1,076	73.561	15	0
Goudah - -	93	2,874	30	2,497	1.49.687	0	0
Byswarrah - -	304	4,514	195	5,413	3.44.164	6	0
Russoolabad - -	179	1,232	50	1,461	1.17.165	3	9
Sundeela - -	255	2,900	104	3,295	2.21.206	14	9
Sandee - -	86	299	17	400	38.437	13	6
Khyrabad - -	90	2,763	127	2,980	1.77.604	5	3
Mohmadabad - -	—	288	—	288	13.751	12	0
Futtehpore - -	144	1,401	99	1,644	1.13.980	8	0
Sudhour - -	50	280	29	359	24.845	2	0
Dewa - -	110	1,450	27	1,587	1.03.484	5	3
Mohan - -	36	100	—	136	13.364	4	9
Mohumdee - -	101	1,441	78	1,620	1.12.867	0	6
Mamickpore - -	65	1,249	33	1,347	84.403	11	6
Muchrahta - -	24	289	—	313	20.386	6	6
Bejnour and Gosaigunge	92	488	21	601	48.586	0	9
Surtahgunge - -	—	111	—	111	5.340	0	0
Khaspore Tandah - -	—	346	29	375	11.948	14	6
Puhumrath - -	72	1,876	48	1,996	1.24.567	6	0
Saudee - -	13	1,986	104	2,103	1.13.970	4	3
Shuligunge - -	5	84	—	89	5.687	0	6
Dureabad - -	57	1,232	73	1,332	76.224	12	9
Seilukh - -	—	—	16	16	700	11	3
Grand Total - -	2,121	36,983	1,646	40,750	25.54.167	13	6

N.B. During the late Reign some Reduction took place in the Army, in which an Augmentation has again been effected; at any Emergency the Risalahs under Mindao Khan and Takeer Mahomed, which are stationed at Lucknow, are detached.

(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed)

George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 8.

No. 8.

Political Department, 17th September 1831.

MINUTE by Sir CHARLES METCALFE. (Received 22d March 1832.)

ACCORDING to the Desire expressed by the Right Honourable the Governor General, I offer my Sentiments on the Question discussed in his Lordship's Minute dated the 30th July, regarding the Course to be pursued towards the State of Oude.

There is a Part of that Question which I consider free from any Doubt, but there is also a Part which seems to me to be involved in considerable Difficulty.

I have no Doubt that we are bound to prevent the Abuse of the Protection which we afford to the Head of the State.

To give that Kind of Support to a Prince, which secures him from the natural Effects of the Indignation of oppressed Subjects, without protecting them against Tyranny on his Part, is not the Non-interference which we profess as our System of Policy, it is, on the contrary, gross Interference in the internal Affairs of a Foreign State.

As far, therefore, as the Presence of our Troops in the Country, or any other Cause, renders us the Sustainers of the Oude Government in Acts of Oppression, it seems clearly incumbent on us to remove the Cause; or if that, for any sufficient Reason, be impracticable, to prevent or rectify its bad Effects.

So far the Principle by which the protecting Power ought to be guided appears to be indisputable; but when we come to consider the Means by which this desirable Object is to be accomplished, then begins the Difficulty.

For if direct Interference in the Management of the Country be resorted to, it is impossible to foresee to what Lengths it may not proceed. Once introduced, most Things tend to its Extension. A little Interference will often fail; if it be not efficacious, it may produce more Harm than Good; to make Interference efficacious it must be extended as far as need be. How far that can be no one can tell beforehand. Under a System of active Interference on the Part of a paramount Power what remains to the Prince cannot be called Sovereignty. The Sovereignty ceases, and the Purpose on his Part of the Alliance is destroyed. Although we must not countenance Oppression, that we have any Right to set aside the Sovereignty of the Prince is at least questionable.

What seems to me to be incumbent on us in the present State of Oude, as described in the Governor General's Minute, may be comprised under the following Heads:—

First, That we are bound not to foster Oppression.

Second, That we must alter any Arrangements which exist tending to encourage it.

Third, That if we cannot effectually remove the Tendency to support Oppression which arises out of our Connexion with that State, we must either abolish the Alliance altogether, or act so as to counteract its Effects in that respect.

Fourth, That if we must interfere in the Government of the Country we ought to take care to do so efficaciously, as far as regards the Object of our Interference.

Fifth, That we must, as much as possible, save the Sovereignty of the Prince, and endeavour to restore it to him unimpaired whenever we may be able to withdraw from our Interference.

With reference to these Considerations, I proceed to describe the Course which I would recommend to be pursued.

The first Experiment ought, I conceive, to be made with the Government as it stands at present.

It consists of a King who takes little or no Part in the Management of Public Affairs, and of a Minister who is invested by his Master with absolute Authority over the whole Country.

It is evident that in this State of Things every thing depends on the Minister, with this Drawback, that he must keep the King in good Humour, which may lead to many Abuses; but still the Minister is left entire Manager of the Revenue and Police.

The Native Mode of Government is very simple; with sufficient Energy on the Part of the Minister to maintain a decent Police, and while abstaining from Extortion himself to make his Subordinates refrain also, the Country can hardly fail to prosper.

But Extortion is the besetting Sin of every bad Native Government; from the Prince and the Minister, down to the lowest Functionary, it is the prevalent Vice; and unless the Head of the Government, whether Prince or Minister, be himself devoid of it, he cannot be expected to be able to root it out of others.

As far as I can judge of the Power of the present Minister at Lucknow, it seems to me that the Reform of the worst of the Evils existing under the Oude Government depends on him.

I would propose, therefore, that the Minister should have a fair Trial; and that our Resident should be instructed to co-operate with him with Cordiality, recommending Acts of Justice, and especially Fairness and Moderation in the Assessment of the Revenue, and remonstrating against Acts of Oppression and Extortion, without meddling for any other Purpose in the Proceedings of the Government.

There is no Want of Ability on the Part of the Minister. Native Ministers in general, indeed, do not fail from Want of mere Ability adapted to the Transaction of Business. In this respect, and in the Knowledge of the People whom they have to govern, they are generally superior to Europeans, necessarily Strangers in India; but they want the Spirit which would prompt them to abstain from Extortion on Principle, and the Wisdom which would persuade them to do so from Policy.

There is no Reason to question either the Ability or the Energy of the present Minister; but of his Public Virtue or Disinterestedness I have no Hope. There could not be a more barefaced or a more shameful Act of Cupidity than his obtaining recently from his Master a Deed granting to him and his Heirs in perpetuity Five per Cent. on the Revenues of Oude. Fortunately such Deeds, under such a Native Government, are as easily recalled as granted. The Mischief, therefore, in this Instance, may not be permanent; but the Proceeding is a lamentable Symptom of the Minister's Character. Nevertheless, I should hope that his Experience in Revenue Matters must have taught him that Extortion from the Cultivators is the Ruin of the State, and that therefore he may be disposed on that Subject to listen to Reason, and practice Moderation, or at least abstain from intolerable Extortion.

I am on the whole of Opinion, that if the Minister has the Will he has the Power to reform the general Administration of the Oude Territory; and that Failure on his Part will proceed from his Want of Virtue and true Wisdom, and not from the Want of mere Ability.

This Experiment with the Minister might be tried, pending the Reference of the general Question to the Honourable Court of Directors, as it would not in any respect violate the Rights of the Sovereign of Oude, or induce any Degree of Interference so great even as has been often exercised under the existing Treaty.

If the Minister should do, what I believe him to be fully capable of doing, as far as that depends on Ability and Knowledge, no further Interference on our Part would be requisite, and the Necessity of any Interference, even in the Way of Advice, soon would cease, as the Benefits of Moderation and Justice would rapidly become manifest to an Extent sufficient almost to ensure their Continuance on the Ground of Self-interest.

If, instead of this favourable Result, the Minister should remain insensible to the Duties of his Station, and, being deaf to the Advice of the Resident, persist in a Course of Extortion and Misrule, then would come that Part of the Question on which it appears to me to be embarrassing to decide, on account of the Difficulty of limiting Interference in the internal Affairs of another State when once it has been introduced.

Before having recourse to any System of direct Interference I should be strongly disposed to recommend another Experiment, consisting of a Course of Measures devoid of that Character.

No. 8.
(continued.)

Continuing our Protection to the State of Oude against Foreign Aggression, we might abrogate that Part of the Alliance which, on the Condition of Attention to our Advice binds us to defend the Government against internal Enemies. We might withdraw all our Troops at present stationed in Oude to Cawnpore and Futehgurh, or any One or more Stations bordering on Oude, where they would still be available for its Defence against Foreign Aggression. We might also withdraw our Resident to Cawnpore, whence he might carry on such Communications as might still be necessary with the Court of Lucknow.

The Oude Government would then stand more in awe of its Subjects, and would find it more difficult to exercise irresistible Oppression, in which Case the Moderation which our Advice had totally failed to inculcate might be forced on the Court by the Necessity of attending to the Voice of the People.

If this were the Result of the Measures suggested, our future Relations with the Court of Lucknow would be on a more satisfactory Footing than any that they have ever yet stood on. Entirely abstaining from Interference in internal Affairs, giving no Countenance to Oppression or Misrule, our Duty towards that Court would be confined to Protection against Foreign Aggression. The only Foreign State with which the Court of Lucknow can come into collision is that of the Goorkhas. Three Sides of the Oude Territory are bounded by our Dominions, the Fourth by those of the Goorkha State. Under the Circumstances supposed there would not be any greater Danger of Collision between those Two Powers than there is at present. Our Mediation would be equally available in any incidental Disputes on their mutual Frontier, and any positive intentional Aggression on either Part it would be our Duty to prevent or repel.

I am not aware of any insurmountable Impediment to the Execution of the Measure suggested. It may certainly be said that it would be an Abandonment of those Persons at Lucknow and in the Oude Territory who enjoy the Protection of our Resident against their Sovereign. It cannot, however, I conceive, be maintained that we are bound to shape our Policy by Consideration for those Individuals; such as would not continue to reside securely in Oude without our Protection would have to take up their Abode in our Territory. The System which has prevailed at Lucknow of giving our Protection to Subjects of the Ruler of Oude appears to me to be highly objectionable. I know not how it commenced, nor why it has been so extensively continued; and whatever System of Policy we may pursue towards the Court of Lucknow in other respects, this Violation of the Rights of the Sovereign of a Foreign Country ought, I conceive, to cease in every Instance in which it is not absolutely impossible, in good Faith, to get rid of the Incongruity. In most Cases it will, I have no Doubt, be found, that there is no reasonable Obligation on us to continue our Protection. With few Exceptions, the Boon most probably has been voluntary and gratuitous, arising out of the Practice which has prevailed at the Residency at Lucknow of setting up a Jurisdiction in counteraction of that of the Ruler of the Country, or at least separate from it; a Jurisdiction which is unwarrantable and mischievous, and ought, under any Circumstances, to be abolished.

The Experiment of the withdrawing our Troops and our Resident, and all Cognizance of internal Affairs, might fail in One of Two Ways: the Court might possibly continue powerful enough to oppress the People without Restraint. Would it in that Case be incumbent on us to interfere again for the Protection of the People? I am inclined to think it would not. Having manifestly withdrawn our Countenance from the Acts of the Government, and left the People at liberty to resist Oppression, I do not conceive that we should be more called on to interfere in Oude in consequence of Acts of Oppression than we should be in any other Country in India under our general Protection from external Aggression. I do not, however, anticipate that this would be the Effect of our withdrawing our Countenance. The Government would surely be in the first instance weakened by that Proceeding; it would be compelled to have recourse to Moderation; and if strong enough to assert its Rights, with a Respect for the People sufficient to restrain it from Oppression, nothing could be more desirable. A System of Oppression cannot be carried on without an overwhelming Military Force; a large Military Force requires large Resources; Oppression tends inevitably to diminish Resources, and to prevent the regular Payment of the Army; an ill-paid Army becomes mutinous, and

is a Source of Weakness instead of Strength; the Evil therefore, would cure itself, and the Government would not be strong enough to Practice unresisted Oppression. The possible Weakness of the Government presents another Chance of bad Consequences from the withdrawing of our Superintendence: Anarchy might ensue. If it were partial, and did not affect our Frontiers, I do not see that it would require us to alter our Course; if it did affect our Interests we should be at liberty to take Measures to put down the Evil effectually. It could not be universal without reducing the Court of Oude to the Necessity of imploring our Protection on any Terms, and we might then, with the entire Consent of the Court, which could never be obtained under any other Circumstances, adopt any Plan that we might conceive most effectual for the future good Government of the Oude Territories.

Regarding the Question in every Point of View in which it occurs to me, I see nothing so discouraging as necessarily to deter us from adopting the Measure of withdrawing our Troops and our Resident, if it should be rendered expedient, by the Perseverance of the Oude Government in Acts of Oppression, notwithstanding our Advice to the contrary. The Objects of that Measure would be to compel the Court to Moderation and tolerably good Government, and to teach it to act in its internal Administration without our Interference and Support; Objects which it must be admitted to be very desirable to attain, and both of which will not, most probably, be accomplished in any other Way, if our previous Advice should fail to produce Effect.

Supposing this Scheme of withdrawing not to be approved, what other Methods offer themselves of bringing about a better Administration of Affairs in Oude? I would still earnestly recommend our abstaining from taking any Share in the Administration beyond what might be necessary to check Extortion and Oppression. With this view the Native Administration might remain, as at present, subject in all its Branches to the King and his Ministers. The Resident might have Powers to insist on Redress in Cases of Extortion and Oppression. It would be necessary that he should have Assistants in the Work of Check; and none could be relied on but European Officers, who might be appointed to the several Divisions of the Oude Territory, One to each, visiting occasionally every Part of his Charge as might be advisable. The Assistants ought to possess the Power of obtaining the necessary Knowledge to enable them to exercise their Duty of Check efficiently; they ought to know the just Claims of the Government on the People, in order that they might be able to detect Extortion. In Cases of that Character, or of other Oppression, they might have the Power of advising and remonstrating with the local Native Authorities, and of reporting to the Resident, who on his Part would use his Influence with the Government in order to obtain Redress, if the local Authorities did not or would not afford it. Neither the Resident nor any of the European Assistants under him ought to issue any Orders, or possess any direct Authority, or to take any Part in the Collection of the Revenue, or in Receipts or Disbursements of any Kind connected with the Administration of the Oude Dominions; their Powers being limited to the Degree of Inspection and Interference indispensable to make them efficient Instruments of Check, and all executive Offices being held by Native Officers under their own Native Government. Whenever the Time for removing our Interference might return the Recall of the Powers of Check conferred on the Resident and his Assistants would leave the Native Administration in full Operation, uninjured by our temporary Intervention. I do not recommend this System as being so efficacious for the right Government of the Country as one of more direct Authority and Participation in the Administration, but I hold it to be the System which more than any other that could be adopted combines an effectual Check on the worst Abuses of Misrule with the Maintenance of the Sovereignty of the Native Ruler unimpaired, and the Preservation of National Institutions unaltered. These were the Objects of the Interference which was organized in the Nizam's Territories in 1821, and this was the System then introduced. It became a Part of the Duty of the Officers of Check employed to aid, in concert with the Native Authorities, in settling the just Demand of the Government on the Landholders, because such was the Want of good Faith of the Minister of that Country that there was no other Way of ascertaining the proper Limit of that Demand, or of discovering whether Complaints of Extortion were true or unfounded. The same Proceeding might be necessary in Oude, from the same Cause, but it is a

No. 8.
(continued.)

more direct Participation in the Administration than I should be disposed to advocate, if the fair Demand could be ascertained without it, which in Oude perhaps might be practicable.

If neither of the Schemes above suggested should be approved, it seems to me that nothing is left but the Assumption of the Superintendence and Direction of the entire Administration, and it remains to be considered in what Mode this can most advisably be carried into effect.

One Method of exercising such Interference is, that the Minister should govern the Country, subject to the Control of the Resident. This implies that the Minister would be selected or at least supported by the Resident, and thus be made independent of his Sovereign. The Authority of the Sovereign would be set aside, and the Servant would be made to domineer over his Master. This must be the most grating of all Degradations. I do not conceive that we have any Right thus to depose the Sovereign, except in Cases which would warrant actual War. But, waiving that Question, it is evident that the Success of this Plan must depend on the Goodness of the Minister. If the Minister were a good one our Interference would be unnecessary, and if he were a bad one it must on this Scheme fail. The Minister would profess to be guided by the Injunctions of the Resident, but would have the Power of deceiving him; and the Resident would have no Means of detecting or checking numberless Acts of Mal-administration. Excepting only that by Accident the British Government or the Resident might hit on a better Minister than the Prince would select, which is by no means certain, this Scheme would be totally inefficient, while the virtual Deposition of the Sovereign would make it in Principle as objectionable as any that could be devised with a view to the most complete Efficiency. The legitimate Sovereign having been set aside by an Act of paramount Power, whether warrantable or otherwise, avowedly for the Purpose of introducing an improved Administration, there is no Reason why one of the Servants should be vested with Authority to counteract the very Purpose for which alone that questionable Proceeding had been reluctantly adopted,—a Proceeding which would at least require complete Success for its Justification.

Another Step in the Progress of Interference would be, to place the whole Administration under the Resident, not governing through a Minister, but exercising himself all the Powers of a Minister, with only Native Officers as his subordinate Instruments. It is my Opinion that this Plan also would not be efficient alone, and without the Aid of any but Native Officers the Resident could not sufficiently check their Proneness to Corruption and Extortion. If we are to set aside the Power of the Sovereign, and introduce our own, we are at least bound to render the Measure efficient for the Good of the People; it is the only Plea that we can have for the Violence that we should thereby commit.

If, therefore, our direct Assumption of the Administration of the Oude Territory be deemed unavoidable, I should recommend its Adoption in a Shape which, judging from Reason and Experience, would ensure its Efficiency. The Resident might have the supreme Control, with European Superintendence under his Orders in the several Divisions of the Country, selected from the Civil or Military Servants of the British Government in India, the subordinate Establishments under the Superintendents consisting of Native Officers. This Plan was followed with eminent Success in the Nagpoor Territories during the Minority of the Raja, and it is the one which would, I conceive, prove most efficient in Oude, if we were compelled to interfere directly in the Management of the internal Affairs of that Country. At the same Time, all the Native Institutions being maintained unimpaired, the Sovereignty could be restored to the King whenever that Measure might be deemed advisable, by the mere withdrawing of the Authority of the Resident and the European Superintendents, and by the Substitution of a Native Minister and Native Superintendents, the Machinery of the Government in other respects being unaltered by our Intervention.

In conclusion, I shall briefly recapitulate the Substance of the Opinions which I have offered in this Minute.

1. I conceive it to be an indispensable Duty to prevent the Conversion of our Protection to the Oude Government into the Support of Tyranny and Oppression.

2. We ought therefore to endeavour strenuously to induce the Government

ment of Oude to improve its Administration, without direct Interference on our Part; and the Government of Oude, if it does not want the Will, has fully the Power to effect that Object. No. 8.
(continued.)

3. If our Endeavours should fail, it would be desirable to withdraw our Troops and our Resident from Oude, leaving the Government to manage its internal Affairs without Countenance or Intervention on our Part.

4. If the Plan of withdrawing should be rejected, a System of Intervention and Check such as was established in the Nizam's Territories in 1821, for the Purpose of preventing Extortion and Oppression, without Participation in the executive Government, would be preferable to the Assumption of that direct Authority in the Administration by which the Sovereignty of the Prince must be entirely set aside.

5. If it be deemed warrantable and necessary to take the Administration completely into our own Hands, and to supersede the Sovereignty of the Princes, a System similar to that pursued at Nagpoor during the Minority of the Raja would be preferable to any one in which the Representative of our Government would have to rely solely on the Aid of Native Functionaries, in which Case he could not be expected singly to exercise a sufficient Check over the Extortion and Oppression which it would be the Purpose of our Interference to prevent; and if we are to go the Length of virtually deposing the Sovereign, and introducing our own exclusive Authority into the Administration, we are bound to make our Interference efficacious for the Protection of the People.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE.

P.S. I had not seen the Governor General's Instructions to the Resident at Lucknow of the 25th of August when this Minute was written.

(Signed) C. T. M.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 9.

No. 9.

Political Department, 27th September 1831.

MINUTE by Mr. BLUNT. (Received 22d March 1832.)

THE Misrule and Oppression under which the Subjects of the Oude Government have long suffered is too well known to admit of any Question as to the urgent Necessity which exists for a complete Reform in the Civil Administration of those Territories. The defective System of Revenue Administration, the oppressed and impoverished Condition of the Agricultural Classes, the declining Resources of the Country, and the general Insecurity of Life and Property, are Evils for which there appears to be no effectual Remedy but a more direct and active Interference on the Part of this Government in regulating the internal Administration of that Province.

This Measure the Government has hitherto been averse to sanction; but the Time appears to have arrived when, in order to preserve the Country from Ruin, it has become unavoidably necessary to depart from that Line of Policy which it has hitherto been the Endeavour of the British Government to observe, but the Consequences of which, in abstaining from all Interference, are now too manifest in the Disorders which prevail to admit of longer Perseverance in that System.

The Questions brought under Consideration by the State of the Province of Oude are, to what Extent such Interference may be necessary, and in what Manner it may least objectionably be exercised, so as, without violating the Conditions of the Treaty, to effect the desired Reform, and to secure to the Inhabitants of Oude that Protection and good Government which, under the following Stipulation of the Treaty of 1801, that State is bound to establish:

“ His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier engages that he will establish in his reserved Dominions such a System of Administration (to be carried into effect

No. 9. " effect by his own Officers, as shall be conducive to the Prosperity of his
continued.) " Subjects, and be calculated to secure the Lives and Property of the Inha-
 — " bitants ; and his Excellency will always advise with and act in conformity
 " to the Counsel of the Officers of the said Honourable Company."

To secure the Fulfilment of this Stipulation, without interfering with the Exercise of Authority guaranteed to the Sovereign of Oude in the internal Management of his reserved Dominions, is the difficult Task which the Condition of those Territories and the Obligation of the Treaty appear now to impose on the British Government.

Advice and Remonstrance on the Part of the Representative of that Government, during the last Thirty Years, has not been wanting ; it has, however, hitherto been wholly unavailing. At a late personal Interview with the Governor General, his Majesty, as well as the Minister, have professed an earnest Desire to effect a Reform of those Evils and Abuses the Existence of which was not denied ; and under the Instructions of the Governor General, with which the Resident has recently been furnished for his Guidance, I concur in the Expediency of affording the Minister fair Trial, pending the Reference which his Lordship has recommended to be made to the Home Authorities in regard to the Course which should eventually be pursued.

The late Resident at Lucknow, Mr. Maddock, has observed that " a Minister of Oude is powerless for all good Purposes without the acknowledged " Sanction and Co-operation of the Resident ;" he is of Opinion " that no " Minister will be able to effect a radical Reform in the Territorial Administra- " tion without his Aid and Co-operation ;" and he has expressed his Conviction that no Revenue System or equitable Principles can ever be effected by the unaided Efforts of the Oude Government, constant Oppression and habitual Breach of all Contracts having completely destroyed the Confidence of the People in their Rulers.

If this Opinion be well founded, the Failure of the Exertions of the Minister will be no Test of the Sincerity of his Professions ; but, aided as he will be by the Counsel of the Resident, possessing himself superior Talents and great Experience, enjoying the entire Confidence of the King, and invested with absolute Authority, having moreover a Military Force at his Disposal of 60,000 Men, to preserve Tranquillity and enforce any Measure of Reform, I cannot doubt his Ability to effect all that is required, by introducing an improved System of Revenue Administration and a tolerably well-regulated Police. But, with such Qualifications and Advantages, should he fail in effecting those Objects, little Hope will then remain of avoiding the Necessity of a more direct Interference in the internal Administration of the Country for the Protection of its Inhabitants.

If by the Condition of the Treaty the British Government is, on the one Hand, bound to protect the State of Oude from Domestic Enemies, and to afford Assistance in the recovering of just Balances of Revenue, it is declared, on the other Hand, no less obligatory on the latter State to establish such a System of Administration as may afford Protection to the Inhabitants, and avert the Necessity of employing British Troops, except for the Protection of the State against Foreign Enemies ; and if this Obligation shall be disregarded, and the Advice of the British Government neglected, or Compliance therewith evaded, and if Disturbance or Insurrection shall in consequence ensue, the British Government must, I conceive, be absolved from the Obligation of affording the Aid of its Troops, which it could never have been the Intention of the Treaty should be employed or retained in the Province to countenance and uphold a System of Tyranny and Oppression. I cannot, therefore, but agree with Mr. Maddock in Opinion, that when we gave up all Control over the Administration of Affairs within the Kingdom the Presence of our Troops became unnecessary to aid in the internal Management of the Country, or to protect it from Foreign Danger. It has already been declared by this Government to be our Right, our Duty, and our Determination to protect the People of Oude from Oppression ; and unless the Minister shall manifest a sincere Desire to correct the Abuses which prevail, and shall introduce an improved System of Administration, I should be disposed to advocate the Measure of withdrawing our Troops within our own Territories, excepting only such Detachment as it may be expedient to retain at Lucknow under the Fourth Article of the Treaty.

I would

I would not, however, propose the Adoption of this Measure until every Means practicable had been tried for ameliorating the Condition of the People to which the King might be induced to give his Consent, short of the Employment of European Agency in directing the Civil Administration of the Country.

It would also, I conceive, be advisable, before our Troops should be withdrawn from the Interior of Oude, that some Progress should be made by the Minister (whether of his own Accord or at the Instance of the Resident, under the Instructions with which he has recently been furnished,) in effecting a Reduction of the Military Establishments which are now entertained in excess of the Establishments fixed by the Treaty, by which Reduction the Remainder of the Troops, by being more regularly paid and better disciplined, will be rendered more efficient and serviceable to the State, when required.

It does not appear that any Part of the Treaty, with the Exception of the Fourth Article, requires that British Troops should be stationed within the Territories of Oude, although it is at the Option of the British Government to station Troops in such Parts of those Territories as it may deem expedient. To withdraw our Troops would not, therefore, I conceive, involve any Infraction of the Treaty; and so long as the Government of Oude shall continue to act in opposition to the Advice to which it is bound by Treaty to conform, their Presence seems both unnecessary and injurious.

The Protection of Oude from Foreign Enemies does not need the Presence of our Troops in the Interior of those Territories; but to withdraw our Resident from that Court might not, I think, be equally reconcilable with the Stipulations of the Treaty.

Although on One Occasion, in 1814, the Vizier of Oude expressed a Desire that our Troops should be withdrawn, I should not suppose that the present Government of Oude would be indifferent to that Measure, or that it would be of no Effect. If the Fidelity and good Conduct of the Troops, maintained by the Oude Government could be depended on, the Presence of our Troops might not (even after a Reduction shall have been effected in numerical Strength of the present Military Establishment of that State) be necessary for the Preservation of internal Tranquillity, or for the Realization of the Revenues.

But the Insubordination which so commonly prevails in the Military Establishments of Native States (especially when kept long in Arrears of Pay), and the refractory Spirit of the Amildars in Oude, would soon awaken that Government to a Sense of its Danger in the Absence of British Troops, and the Effect of the Measure would probably be to dispose his Majesty to solicit the Aid of our Government to carry into effect the Reforms necessary for the Preservation of the Peace and for the future Welfare of his Country, and such Aid might then be afforded as Experience has shown is necessary to the Protection of the Subjects of that Government from future Oppression and Misrule.

In what Manner the Aid solicited could most conveniently be afforded might then be considered. Mr. Maddock is of Opinion that the People would agree to pay higher Rents, and apply themselves to the Cultivation of their Lands, in the fullest Security that the Contracts made with them would not be infringed; if those Contracts were only guaranteed by a British Officer. I should not anticipate much Advantage from any half Measures of Interference. The Extent to which our Aid may be required, the Period of its Duration, and the Manner in which it may be most effectually afforded, might perhaps best be determined, in concert with the Government of Oude, when the Occasions for giving that Assistance may arise. The present Minister of Oude has himself proposed to the late Resident, Mr. Maddock, the Employment of British Officers to effect the Reforms which he professes a Wish to introduce. The Resident appears to have doubted his Sincerity, but, however this may be, I am inclined to think that that Measure will ultimately be found unavoidable.

I conceive that if European Functionaries are to be employed no System of Administration can be devised better adapted to the Preservation of the existing Institutions of the Country, or more likely to insure the Success of the Measure, than that which was established for the temporary Management of the Territories of Nagpore. European Superintendents might be selected from either the Civil or Military Branch of the Service, or from both, to discharge the Duties and exercise the Powers now entrusted to Native Amils; the Direction

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(continued.)

and Control of the Police, the Administration of Civil Justice, and the Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenues might be committed to their Superintendence, under such Rules and Restrictions as might be judged proper, and subject to the general Control of the Resident, whose Powers should be derived from the Sovereign, and exercised wholly in his Name.

No Change need be made in the existing Institutions of the Country but that of substituting temporarily European Superintendents for Native Aumils. No subordinate Native Officer need be removed or appointed without the Sanction of the Resident; if any Removal should become necessary, the Person selected to fill the Vacancy should be an Inhabitant of Oude; and as regards the Line of Conduct which should be observed towards the Native Officers, a better Rule cannot, I think, be laid down than that which was adopted in Nagpoor, as explained by the then Resident, Mr. Jenkins: "We took the Officers, generally speaking, as we found them; we were careful not to exact too much from them in the way of Probity, hoping that in the course of Time, seeing we were resolute they should be as pure as we could make them, they would improve; but we feared that if at first we evinced a Disposition to exact more than we were authorized to do all Improvement would be completely checked; and at last (he continues), I believe, there was very little Peculation or Misbehaviour generally among them."

The Principles by which the Administration of the Nagpoor Territories was regulated by Mr. Jenkins, (his whole Arrangements, as observed by him, being calculated to prepare the Country for a purely Native Administration,) might with Safety and Advantage be adopted in the Event of the Territories of Oude being similarly placed under European Superintendence, and which Plan of Administration would admit at any Time of the Restoration of the internal Management of the Country to the Native Officers of the Oude Government.

Whether it would be expedient to associate the Minister with the Resident in the general Superintendence of the Civil Administration is a Question of much Importance. The Measure might tend to reconcile the King to the proposed Arrangement, but it might also tend to defeat the Success of that Arrangement, by leading to Counteraction and Embarrassment; but if the Minister cordially co-operated with the Resident, his Appointment to exercise, conjointly with that Officer, the Power vested in them, would preserve the Appearance of maintaining the Authority of the King, which is perhaps what his Majesty would be chiefly solicitous about; while any Matters of Importance in regard to which different Views or Opinions might be entertained by the Resident and Minister might be submitted by the former for the Decision of his Government, to which the Government of Oude by the existing Treaty is pledged to conform.

In the event of a new Succession to the Throne of Oude occurring pending the Reference proposed to be made to the Home Authorities as to the Course eventually to be pursued in regard to that State, such an Occurrence might afford a favourable Opportunity of effecting such Modifications of the existing Treaty, and for the Introduction of such Arrangements as Experience has shown to be necessary to provide for the Protection of the Inhabitants and the future good Government of the Oude Territories.

The Subject of this Minute has, however, been so fully and ably discussed by others far better qualified than myself to determine the Course most advisable to be pursued, that it is not without great Hesitation and Diffidence that I have ventured to offer the foregoing Remarks and Suggestions.

(Signed) W. BLUNT.

(A true Copy.)

Geo. Swinton,

Chief Secretary to Government.

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No. 10.

No. 10.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON, Assistant in Charge of the Residency at Lucknow, to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., Secretary to the Governor General at Head Quarters, dated 5th June 1831; transmitting Copy and Translation of a Letter from the King regarding the Appointment of Colonel Gardner to manage Part of the Country. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to forward, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, a Copy and Translation of an Official Note received from his Majesty the King of Oude, regarding the Appointment of Colonel Gardner to superintend the Revenue Settlement of a Division of Territory to be hereafter determined, and expressive of the Hope that the Colonel's Appointment, from inspiring Confidence in the Stability of all Engagements, will lead to increased Cultivation, and will reduce to Subjection the refractory Zemindars, and put down Dakoits.

There is every Reason to expect these solid Advantages from the Colonel's Superintendence; and I hope that the Right Honourable the Governor General may have no Objection to the Appointment. In my Reply to the King I have thought it necessary to say, that however heartily I wish Success to Measures tending to the Benefit of the People, it would have been more regular to wait for the Governor General's Sanction, and I have expressed the Hope that the Entrance of the Colonel upon such Duties may commence after receiving the Approval of his Lordship.

Lucknow Residency,
5th June 1831.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

To his Majesty the King of OUDE, dated 5th June 1831.

I HAVE had the Honour to receive your Majesty's Note regarding the Appointment of Colonel Gardner to the Management of a Portion of Territory hereafter to be determined. I heartily desire Success to all Measures tending to the Happiness of your Majesty's Subjects; but it appears to me that it would have been more regular had Colonel Gardner's Appointment awaited the Sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General, and I hope that his Entrance upon Revenue Duties may commence after the Receipt of his Lordship's Approval. I shall To-day forward a Copy of your Majesty's Note to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) J. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

No. 11.

No. 11.

LETTER from Lieut. J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated 6th June 1831.
(Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

WITH reference to my Letter of Yesterday's Date, regarding the Appointment of Colonel Gardner to Revenue Duties, I regret to find an Error in the Translation of the King's Note, and I shall feel obliged by your substituting the enclosed Translation in its place. As the Note says, "I am going to appoint the Colonel," and not "I have appointed him;" and in Yesterday's Translation the Words "this Arrangement has been adopted" have been changed to "this Plan has been embraced."

Lucknow Residency,
6th June 1831.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

No. 11. Translation of an Official Note from his Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated
(continued.) 23d Zeechij 1246 Hejree (June 1831.)

As Colonel Gardner possesses full Experience in the Management of the Country, it is believed that the Ryots, confiding in his Engagements, will employ themselves in increasing the Cultivation; and as it is my Wish to introduce the Amanee System into the Country from the Commencement of 1239 Tusslee, I am going to appoint the Colonel for the Settlement of certain Zillahs, agreeably to the Division which will take place hereafter. The most important Consideration in making this improved Arrangement is, that the Colonel's Appointment will, as is anticipated, to the Extent of my Wishes, suppress the Disorders created by refractory Zemindars, Highway Robbers, and Dacoits, &c. I therefore request you will apprise my renowned Uncle, the Right Honourable the Governor General, of this Circumstance, and inform his Lordship, that as I am cordially disposed to make the Country prosper, and to afford Redress for Oppressions, this Plan has been embraced, and in all probability will be also approved of by his Lordship.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

No. 12.

No. 12.

LETTER from H. T. PRINSEP Esq., to Lieut. J. PATON, dated 13th June 1831,
(Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters dated the 5th and 6th Instant, transmitting Copy and Translation of an Official Note from the King of Oudh on the Subject of appointing Colonel Gardner to superintend the Revenue Management under the Aumanee System of a Division of his Territory, and in reply to state the Instructions furnished to you in my Letter dated 11th Instant preclude the Necessity of any further Orders in reply to these References.

The Governor General adheres to the Opinion, that the Employment of Colonel Gardner or any other British Subject in the Settlement or Collection of the Revenues of Oudh, subject only to his Majesty's Authority, would be objectionable, and cannot be sanctioned by the British Government.

I am, &c.

Simla, 13th June 1831.

(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

No. 13.

No. 13.

ABSTRACT.

(Received 24th April 1832.)

REPORTING a Conference with the Minister at the Residency regarding the Prohibition to Colonel Gardner and other British Subjects from being employed in the Management of Revenue Affairs of Oude, and the consequent Disappointment of the Minister, and communicating his Sentiments and Views respecting a Reform in Oude.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

No. 14.

No. 14.

LETTER from Lieut. J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated 23d June 1831.
(Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to communicate to you, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I was this Evening visited at the Residency by the Minister. He introduced the Subject of his Disappointment in the Decision of the Governor General, forbidding the Employment of Colonel

Colonel Gardner or any British Officers in the Revenue Settlement of Oude. Upon the Colonel's Appointment and Services he said he had built his Hopes of Reform and Amelioration, as his Name and Experience would have carried Authority, Weight, and Confidence into the Territory to be settled; the Season for active Revenue Operations was close at hand; "and now," said the Minister, "that I am deprived of this essential Aid at so critical a Period, where am I to look for Help, and what am I to do? *I have no Confidence in Native Agents*; I am alone to govern a turbulent City, to check the extravagant Excesses of the Palace Expenditures, and to attend to the general Affairs of the Kingdom; and when I request efficient Aid, it is denied me. What at this Crisis can I do?" The Minister asked the Meaning of the Expressions in your Letter prohibiting the Employment of British Subjects, unless under the immediate Control of the British Government and its Officers; because, said he, the Colonel would be under the Control of the Resident; he would send Information of his Proceedings, and ask Advice in his Operations. I replied, that there was a Difference between asking Advice and sending Information, and being under Control; and that unless British Officers were thoroughly under the Orders of the British Government, and all their Proceedings open to Inspection and Check; in fact, unless they were to act in perfect Obedience, as Servants of the British Government would act, I conceive that the Governor General could not sanction their Employment, such being the Purport of the Instructions conveyed on this Head. The Minister asked the Extent of the Expression prohibiting the Employment of British Subjects? I replied, that though the Terms had a very general Meaning, and embraced all subject to the British Government, it appeared quite evident from the Context that it was not meant to exclude Natives, Subjects of the British Government, from being appointed to such Duties in Oude, but merely those of British Blood. I said I would ask you what was the exact Meaning of the Term, and I shall feel obliged by your informing me if East Indians, commonly called Half-castes, may be employed in the Revenue Management of Oude, as I foresee that this Question will be asked, and it is probable that such a Proposal may be made.*

2. The Minister said he knew not what to do. He asked if he should go direct in Person to the Governor General, and take Counsel. "I," said he, "now that the Aid required has been refused me, have no Suggestion left. Tell me what you advise?" I asked if there were none of the Nobles here; no Men of Rank and Character; no Natives of Probity and Experience in the British Provinces, to whom he could entrust the Management of Districts in Oude. He said he knew none; that here all Instruction in Business as well as in Arts and Sciences had long ceased; there was no Education,—no School,—no College from whence able Men might be obtained. He knew of no Native Agents equal to the Task before him. It was from the Beginning, he remarked, his Opinion, that without the Counsel and Aid of the Resident Oude could not prosper; and from the Day the Resident's Interference was withdrawn the Kingdom had retrograded. I expressed my Conviction of the Evils which had arisen from Non-interference, and my Hope that he would be able to restore the Blessings of a good Government to this unhappy Country, now in Disorder to the Core. I said the Field was open before him, and urged him to Exertion in such a noble Undertaking.

3. Adverting to the Excesses of the Mohurram, the Minister pointed out the Difficulty of preserving Tranquillity throughout a City of such Extent amongst a turbulent and unruly Population, unaccustomed to Restraint at such a Season, yet Peace had been preserved even at Lucknow. "But here," he said, "I was myself upon the Spot to ensure Success, and could I go into the Interior of the Country, personally to superintend the Revenue Affairs, I should expect to be equally successful there; however, I cannot go, and being deprived of the Aid I had requested I know not what Measures now to adopt." The Minister hinted that it surely could not be the Wish that Oude should be restored to Order, else why deny the Aid of the Means requested. I replied that the Governor General had at Heart the good Government of Oude, though the Employment of British Officers for that Purpose could not be sanctioned,

* Since I expressed my Opinion that Half-castes were not meant to be excluded.

No. 14. unless under the Checks and Control of British Authority. He requested my
(continued.) Counsel in this Extremity. I said that the Sentiments of the Right Honourable
the Governor General were upon Record, and that I should be happy to
forward any Proposal the King might have to make.

4. The Minister spoke of a Gang of Robbers who infested the Neighbour-
hood of the City, and in their Haunts disregarded the Orders of the local
Authority. "I should wish," said he, "to chastise them; but in the Note of
"the Private Conference between the Governor General and his Majesty,
"held in January last, it is stated that the Reports of Cannon on all Sides reach
"the Ear and proclaim aloud the Disorders of Oude, I am therefore on this
"Account unwilling to attack this Gang."

5. He freely admitted that Oude was in Disorder, but instanced the Dis-
order also of the neighbouring Districts of the British Provinces, as being
infested with Thieves and Robbers, a Subject which he is fond of dwelling
upon. I said that this might arise from their Vicinity to Oude. He spoke of
sending a Letter upon the Subject of his Disappointments, and, as I had ex-
pressed my Wish personally to see His Majesty to explain more fully the
Instructions contained in your Letter regarding the Farm of the Kingdom to
the Minister, Saturday, I believe, is fixed for my breakfasting with the King.

Lucknow Residency,
23d June 1831.

(Signed)

I have, &c.
JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 15.

No. 15.

LETTER from H. T. PRINSEP Esq. to Lieutenant J. PATON, dated
8th July 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge
the Receipt of your Letters dated the 23d and 25th Ultimo, and in reply to
state, that his Lordship adheres to the Opinion that British Subjects cannot be
allowed to take Service under the Court of Oudh in any Department con-
nected with the Settlement or Collection of the Land Revenues.

The Reason for this is obvious, in the Embarrassment that would result
in case of Misconduct, real or pretended, on the Part of such Persons, it being
impossible that the British Government should leave them to be dealt with
according to the usual Practice of the Oudh Government towards Defaulters
and others when guilty of Misconduct or falling into Disfavour and Disgrace.

His Lordship doubts not that his Majesty and his Minister will both
see the Force of this Objection as the Reason for refusing Compliance with
the Request urged in favour of Colonel Gardner. The Objection is, it will be
observed, one of Principle, and its Application must be governed by that
Principle.

Simla, 8th July 1831.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) George Swinton,
Secretary to the Government.

No. 16.

No. 16.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
14th July 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to communicate, for the Information of the Right
Honourable the Governor General, that I was Yesterday Evening visited by the
Minister at the Residency. I had been previously informed that he intended
to bring with him the Treaty of 1801 between the Oude and the British Govern-
ment.

ment. He introduced the Subject of that Treaty, and expressed the Desire that the Government of Oude might receive the Aid and Counsel of the British Government in effecting a Reform in the Kingdom. No. 16.
(continued.)

2. Adverting to the turbulent Zeemeendars, who had thrown off the Authority of the King's Government, and when summoned to give an Account of their Actions refused Compliance, the Minister said, that to reduce them to Subjection by the King's Troops alone would involve Bloodshed and Military Operations in the Capture of the Forts which were strengthened by Artillery, and manned by the Military Followers of the Zeemeendars, who would oppose Attempts to reduce them to Obedience. To avert Bloodshed and Opposition, the Minister requested the Aid of British Troops; for, said he, if the refractory Zeemeendars see but the smallest Detachment of British Troops drawn out against them, if even in one Instance they were employed, the Aid of the British Government would be evinced, and by awing the turbulent into Obedience would in a great measure obviate the Evils of Resistance. The Minister said that the British Government, in all Cases wherever Aid was granted, might fully investigate all the Bearings of the Case, and be satisfied of the Justice and Necessity of proceeding against Offenders. He expressed the Readiness and Wish of the Oude Government to fulfil the Stipulations of the Treaty of 1801, and especially to that Portion of it which stipulates, that "His Excellency (the Nawob Vizier) will always advise with and act in conformity to the Counsel of the said Honourable Company," not only in greater Matters, but in the general Arrangements for the good Government of the Kingdom.

3. In the Third Article of that Treaty the British Government "engage to defend the Territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier against all foreign and domestic Enemies;" and the Oude Government engage to act in conformity to the Counsel of the Officers of the British Government. The Minister asked why this Treaty was not observed; "if annulled," he said, "let another be made." He produced the Letter of 1802, having the Signature of the Marquis of Wellesley, and of the Political Secretary Mr. Edmonstone, relative to the Treaty of 1801, and read from it that Passage which clearly stipulated that the Oude Government should consult with and act in conformity to the Counsel of British Officers, expressing, at the same Time, his Desire that such an Order of Things should again be established. He said that he had so expressed himself to the Right Honourable the Governor General when at Lucknow, and to Mr. Maddock when here; adding, that in his Majesty's Answer to the Minute of the Private Conference between the Governor General and the King, in January last, these Sentiments had been conveyed, but no Answer to his Majesty's Communication had yet been received from his Lordship.

4. In reply to the Minister's Observations, I said that there were left for me no Reflections to make, because the Right Honourable the Governor General had personally visited Lucknow, and placed his Sentiments on Record in the Note of the Private Conference between his Lordship and the King, and that since that Period there had been received no fresh Instructions to be communicated. His Lordship, I said, had at Heart the good Government of Oude, and was anxiously looking for Amelioration. His Majesty's Government was unshackled to work a Reform; and I urged the Minister to every Effort in its Accomplishment, offering to forward any Propositions his Majesty might have for the Consideration of his Lordship. The Minister said, that if he were not thwarted in his Plans, alluding, I suppose, to the Restrictions against the Employment of British Officers in the Amelioration of Oude, he would be as successful in working a Reform in the Interior as he had been in preserving Peace in the City during the Mohurum.

5. Respecting the Treaty of 1801, I said that the Oude Government seemed to have forgotten the Existence of such a Treaty, as instead of taking Counsel from the British Government for the Welfare of the People and of the Kingdom, the present State of Disorder had arisen from flagrant Neglect, and by the Appointment of low and unworthy Individuals to Situations of high Trust and Responsibility in the Government, such as could never have had the Sanction of the British Government had its Counsel been asked.

6. It would doubtless give Vigour to the Oude Administration were British Troops to be drawn out against disobedient Zeemeendars; but I should conceive that such Aid could on no account be given, unless with ample Security that the Oude Government should in future consult with and be guided by the

No. 16. Counsel of the British Government or its Officers in every Branch of the Administration; but from the present Character of the Oude Administration I must confess I doubt its Inclination to be guided by British Counsel to the Extent which in such Case would be necessary.

(continued.)

7. To co-operate in hostile Operations against the Subjects of Oude, and in the future Government of the Country,—to share in Matters of such weighty Responsibility, where the Executive Power, except in Military Operations, rests not with the British Government, would require great Confidence in the Honour and Principles and Moderation of the Ally; and where this Confidence were wanting it would be the more necessary to insure that British Counsel should be predominant. If the British Government is to share in the deep Responsibility, it seems necessary that the Minister should be of a yielding Disposition, and obedient to the Wishes of the Resident; and to secure this Point would seem of the first Importance in the event of any Co-operation.

8. Doubtless, hereafter, should the State of Oude fail to introduce a good Government, the Proposal made Yesterday by the Minister for bringing again into operation the Treaty of 1801 will be urged as an Argument by that Government.

9. If, on the one hand, the disobedient Zeemeendars and their Followers may be without Excuse for the Length to which they have run, yet, on the other, it is worthy of Belief that they have been driven in the first instance to Resistance by the Exactions and Oppressions of unworthy Individuals formerly sent to rule over them. Nor can it be a Matter of Surprise that in such a Government as this there should be found many to rise against the Exactions of Aumils, who have hitherto been selected in many Instances without any Reference to the Qualification and Character necessary for the Discharge of their important Duties.

10. I have told the Minister to commit to Paper any Propositions the King may have to make, that they may be forwarded for his Lordship's Consideration.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
14th July 1831.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 17.

No. 17.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
18th July 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to inform you that I was this Morning visited at the Residency by the Minister, who brought with him several Papers, exhibiting the State of Collections, the Revenues of the Kingdom, the Reduction of Establishments, and the past and present Position of Affairs since his Arrival at Lucknow. He went over the Statement with me; and I requested him, if he desired it, to send me a Copy for the Information of the Governor General. He said he would send me a Copy, and on its Arrival I shall have the Pleasure of forwarding it.

2. He spoke again upon the Subject of Aid and Counsel from the Resident. I said I did not suppose that Interference would be sanctioned by the Right Honourable the Governor General. The Minister did not understand upon what Principle the Treaty of 1801 could be possibly set aside; it clearly provided that the Oude Government should be protected from external and internal Enemies; "and now," said he, "that the Oude Troops have been reduced, in compliance with the Request of the Governor General, with reference to that Treaty, where is the Justice of withholding British Aid, or disregarding the Engagements therein entered upon?" I said that the Oude Government had disregarded its Pledges as contained in the Treaty, having ceased to take Counsel from and be guided by the Advice of the British Government, both in the past and present Reigns, and that hence had arisen the Disorders and

Misrule

Misrule under which Oude at this Moment suffered. He said that the British Government had itself, under a former Administration, withdrawn its salutary Check and Controul, and resigned the Helm of Government into Hands unskilled and unequal to its Use. The British Government, he said, had looked on and seen the Progress of Disorder, had witnessed Tyranny and Oppression, and under the Rule of the late King, who was in his latter Years notoriously incapacitated from governing; "and," said the Minister, "he who sees a blind Man approaching a Pit, and steps not forward to prevent his Fall, cannot be held innocent." "Besides," said he, "the Non-fulfilment of any Portion of a Treaty cannot justify the Abandonment of the whole; and that it is in force is proved by the late Requisition of the Governor General, that the Troops of Oude should be reduced agreeably to the Terms of that Treaty. Upon what Grounds then can British Counsel and Aid be withheld when such are stipulated in the Treaty?"

3. The Intention to reduce the Two Corps of Horse under the Command of Fakeer Mahomed Khan and Mundoo Khan had been intimated to me at my last Interview with his Majesty. I since heard that the Impression had partly gone abroad that the Reduction of these Two Corps was done in concert with the Residency, for in unpopular Measures the Oude Government would always desire to use the Resident's Name. I expressed to the Minister my Surprise that such a Rumour should have arisen, or that the Residency should be supposed to have any Share in the Reduction. He immediately declared that the Individuals who propagated such Assertions should be punished, as the Measure was one in which the Residency could have no Share; the Corps, he said were superfluous, and as the Governor General had intimated that the Army should be reduced, these were to be reduced. The Minister said that Reliance could not be placed upon them, as in the late King's Reign they had negotiated to have him deposed, and they had also been in league with the Ex-minister. These, it is to be presumed, are Pretexts to cover other Reasons for proceeding against them.

4. The Minister said his Plans were ripe for substituting the Aumanee for the Farming System throughout the Kingdom. The present Managers are to be continued in Office, as to remove them, he says, would create Opposition; but their Contracts are to cease, and they are to be Aumanee Managers. Four Collectors (Natives) are to be placed over the Four great Divisions of the Kingdom. These, as Commissioners, are to have the general Control of their respective Charges, and Teehsildars are to manage the Details of the Zillahs and Purgunnahs under them. He mentioned no Names of the Individuals to be chosen for those important Divisions.

5. The Line of Country bordering the Ganges for Five Coss inland he proposes to have under his personal Management at Court. The Jageers of the King's Wives run along that Boundary, and as those Jageers are under the Management of low Individuals, to oust them from these Districts, and give Cash Payments to his Majesty's Wives and their Establishments, will be very beneficial; for it is a Stigma upon Oude, that, neglecting every Principle of good Government, it has placed Individuals from the lowest Grades of Society, and of disreputable Character, in Situations of the highest Trusts, as Governors of Districts, with almost unlimited Powers to oppress the poor Inhabitants by exorbitant Rents, &c. It will be no easy Matter to oust the Managers of the Jageers, as all the Interest of the Harem will be employed with the King to preserve the Management in their own Hands. The Minister requested me to send a Chufnassee to these Districts bordering the Ganges, that constant Information might be obtained regarding the Measures in Progress for the Reform of Abuses there. I said that there was no Necessity for this, and declined also upon the Plea that the People, from the Presence of a Residency Chufnassee, would draw the Conclusion that the Residency partook in the Measures, and that the Oude Government acted in concert with the British Government; for there can be but little Doubt, that especially all disagreeable Measures, and I fear some Times Measures dictated by unworthy Feelings, would be supported by Rumours that they were at the Desire of the British Government, were there any Appearances to support such a Supposition. The Minister seems anxious to obtain my Sanction to the new Plan of managing the Territories bordering the Ganges. I told him in general Terms that the Oude Government must judge of what particular and

No. 17.
(continued.)

specific Measures were necessary in the better Management of the Country, and that the Governor General would hear with Pleasure of any beneficial Arrangement. The Minister's Object seems to be, to appear at least to act with the Approval of the British Government; and he proposed from Time to Time to bring me the Measures he contemplated or had adopted. I said, "I should be happy to see any Details of Improvement whenever he chose to bring them."

6. He said that he had no Intention of appropriating to himself the Five per Cent. allowed him by his Majesty upon the Revenue of the Country. It had been conferred upon him as a marked Distinction and Sign of his Majesty's Favour, but that his Purpose was to return it all ultimately to his Majesty as a Present in his own Name. "I am an old Man," said the Minister; "my Race is nearly run. I want not Money, of which I have an ample Store; neither do I study Pomp and Show. As I came, so am I now, having added none to my Establishment; and from his Majesty I have taken nothing. My Aim is to do good while I live, and to leave behind me Traces of my Labours, amongst which I wish to number the Endowment of a College, the Erection of a Bridge, and the Foundation of an Hospital."

7. The Hospital he said was to be placed under the Charge of Dr. Stevenson, and the Interest of the Money lodged by the late King for the Repair of the Ajeef Ashruff Canal was to be devoted to the Support of the Establishment.

8. The Minister paid a very long Visit, and promised to send a Copy of the Papers he had shown to me.

9. Should the Right Honourable the Governor General have any Instructions to give regarding the Question of Co-operation, I shall be happy to receive them. It will be perceived that I have declined to share in counselling any particular Measures, though ample Encouragement has been given the Minister to Exertion in the Work of Reformation.

10. The Engagements of the Farmers will expire in a short Time hence, and I presume the Aumanee System will then commence; as yet, I am not aware of Amelioration in the Interior (I believe I should except Two Districts which have been made Aumanee, and the Abolition of every Farm is a Benefit). Indeed, under the same Managers, holding the same Farms, and exercising the same Powers, it stands to Reason that in the Detail of Management Misrule in the Interior must be as great now as it was last Year, though the Minister's Energy may have a salutary Influence in preventing any prominent Acts of Violence or Injustice likely to reach his Ears.

Residency, 18th July 1831.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 18.

No. 18.

LETTER from H. T. PRINSEP Esq., to Lieutenant J. PATON Esq., dated
3d August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I AM directed to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to appoint Major John Low to officiate, and eventually to succeed as permanent Resident at Lucknow, and to request you will deliver over Charge of the Residency to that Officer on his Arrival at that Place.

Simla, 3d August 1831.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
6th August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to forward, for the Consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor General, Translations and Copies of a Firman issued by his Majesty to his Aumils, and of a Shooka issued by the Minister, authorizing the Grant to the Minister of Five per Cent. upon the Revenue of the Kingdom, and Five per Cent. upon all Government Disbursements, such as the Pay of Troops and the Price of Articles which may be purchased by the State.

2. Though I have not seen any of the original Firmans or Shookas, I have, however, ascertained, that the Copies herewith sent are correct, having shown both of them to Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan, who comes here on the Part of the Minister, and he acknowledged them correct.

3. It will be observed, that this Royal Grant to the Minister under the new Title of "Vizier," extends to Generation after Generation, and will yield to the Minister a most princely Salary, which from the Terms of the Firman will commence almost from the Minister's Arrival at Lucknow.

4. As the Minister has in his Hands the Reins of Government, and as this Grant must be viewed as dictated by himself, its Provision for the Minister and for his Descendants to future Generations after him offers a strong Contrast to his former Boast of disinterested and patriotic Services for the Amelioration of Oude.

5. In Justice to the Minister his asserted Reasons for the Measures must be given. He says he means not to appropriate the Money to himself, for of Wealth he has enough, but he desires to present the whole of his Income as a Present in his own Name to the King; and for this Purpose the Money is to accumulate in the Public Treasury. The Grant, he urged, would mark to the People the high Favour he enjoyed from his Majesty, and thus establish his Influence and Authority throughout the Kingdom. The Grant has, I understand, since its Promulgation, been much modified in its Operation, especially in that Portion of it bestowing upon the Minister Five per Cent. upon the Payment for State Purchases and Disbursements.

6. I have herewith forwarded a Copy and Translation of my Letter upon the Subject to the King.

Lucknow Residency,
6th August 1831.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAS. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

TRANSLATION of a Copy of a Mandate issued by the KING of OUDE in the
Names of Chuckladars and Aumils, dated 21st Zechiz 1246 Hejrei.

Be it known to all Chuckladars, Tahsildars, Farmers of Revenue, Sayer, and Customs, and to the Farmers of Hoozoor, Tahsul, Elakas, etc.

That now, from Excess of Royal Favour and Kindness, we have made a Mafee Grant to Hushmut wo Umarut Murtabut Showcut wo julalut, mungilut Gerrameekudr eatisude Sultanut, oom dubool oomra Mudac ool Muham, Rookn Rukeen Khalafut wo jahandaree, Buradur Jaun Nissac Wazeer Auzim Nowab, Moontuzim oodawah Nazim ool Moolk Mehdee Allee Khan Buhadoor Sepehdar Jung Yan Wafadar sepah Salar, and to his Descendants, of Five Rupees per Cent., as Perquisites of the Office of Minister and Vizier, from the Commencement of the Fussilee Year 1238, from all the Receipts and Incomes of our Dominions from Khalsars, Jagheers, Mafees, Custom Duties, etc., and also from all the Payments and Disbursements of the Pay of Servants, and the Price of Articles which may be purchased by the State from Merchants, etc. The Royal Mandate has therefore been issued to you that you deduct the said Five per Cent., independent of the Government Property, from all the before-mentioned Items, and pay them to the said Nowab, and his Children and Grandchildren, Generation after Generation, exerting yourselves in giving Permanency to these Royal Orders for ever. Be not on any Account dilatory.

No. 19.
(continued.)

TRANSLATION of a Shookka issued by NAWAB MOONTUZIM OO DOWLAH
to Aumils.

In these Days, from Excess of Royal Favour and Kindness, and from Motives of Liberality and Bounty, Five Rupees per Cent. (independent of the Government Property) has been fixed in my Name from the Receipts and Incomes of the Royal Dominions, Khalsahs, Jagheers, Mafees, Revenues, Customs, etc., and also from all Payments and Expences of the Pay of Servants, and of Prices of Articles on account of the Use of the Government, from the Commencement of the Year 1238 Fussulee, as Perquisites of the Office of Minister and Vizier, and in this Particular a Firman has been issued in the Names of Aumils and Tahsildars of Revenue, Sayer, and Customs, and in the Names of all Farmers of Huzoor, Tahseil, Elakas, etc.; now that the Fussely Year 1238 is ended, and the Year's Accounts are in the Course of Settlement, a Copy of it is therefore forwarded to you, enclosed in this Shookka, that, having yourselves acquainted with its Contents, you deduct the said Perquisites from the whole Year's Wasil Baukee of all and every one of the Ryots, Mallgoozars, Rubool-eatdars, and from all the Items of Receipts and Disbursements, and send them to the Hoozoor without Delay. Considering these as peremptory Orders, act according to them, and never require a new Sunnud.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) JAS. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to his Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated
1st August 1831.

I WAS some Time ago informed that your Majesty had issued Firmans to all the Aumils, Jagheerdars, Tahseeldars, Zeemeendars, and Public Officers of Government, bestowing upon Neewaub Moontuzim oo doolah the Grant of Five per Cent. upon the total Revenues of the Kingdom, and of Five per Cent. upon all Government Disbursements, either as the Pay of Troops or as the Purchase of Articles for the State, and continuing this Grant from Generation to Generation to the Descendants of the Neewaub Moontuzim oo doolah.

As your Majesty made no Communication of this Measure to me, I did not at the Time think it necessary to address your Majesty upon the Subject; but, on Reflection, it appears incumbent upon me, as appertaining to the Duties of my Office, to inform your Majesty that the Grant of a Portion of the Revenues of Oude in perpetuity, Generation after Generation, to the Descendants of the Neewaub Moontuzim oo doolah cannot be expected to have the Approval of the British Government. Were I to be silent upon this Subject it might hereafter be supposed that the Sunnud in perpetuity had the Approval of the British Representative at your Majesty's Court, and of the Head of the Government.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 20.

No. 20.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to the Address of H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated 10th August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

FORWARDS his Majesty's Reply to a Letter of the Assistant in Charge, dated 1st August, upon the Subject of the Grant of Five per Cent. to the Minister inperpetuity.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated 10th August 1831, transmitting the King's Reply to the Letter respecting the Grant of Five per Cent. to the Minister. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

IN continuation of my Letter of August 6th, respecting the Grant of Five per Cent. to the Minister in perpetuity, I have the Honour to forward his Majesty's Reply to my Letter of 1st August upon the same Subject.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
10th August 1831.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from his Majesty the KING of OUDE to the Address of the Assistant Resident in Charge, dated 27th Suffur 1247 H. (7th August 1831.)

I HAVE perused and understood the Contents of your Letter of the 3d Suffur 1247 H, respecting the Perquisites of Neewaub Moontuzim oo dowlah Mehdee Allee Khan, as Minister.

It is no Secret that Agha Meer took from this Country the annual Sum of 23,00,000 Rupees by his own Admission, and Thirty-three Lacs agreeably to the Accounts in the Office, and independent of the personal Allowance of 25,000 Rupees per Mensem. The Property and Jewels of the State which he plundered are out of the Question. Besides, the Money which he took away from the Treasury during my Reign is well known. He required Khillauts Twice a Day, and on those Occasions took Hundreds of Gold Mohurs from Aumils and other Persons, according to their Means, which will come to a large Amount when calculated; and this can be ascertained from the Residency Akhbars.

I sent for the Neewaub from Furruckabad, and bestowed on him the Office of Minister, in consideration of his long Experience, and as he was conversant with Business, and had gained the Approbation and Applause of his late Excellency the Vizier Nuwaub Soodut Allee Khan, my revered Ancestor. The Nuwaub has been honoured with Khillats only Three Times since he has held the Ministerial Office. He has kept in view, as he ought, the Good of this State, and has with much Rectitude during this short Period saved Sixty-seven Lacs of Rupees; himself shunning to accept even a Rupee as Nuzzur. He sits in one Posture from Morning 'till Midnight, applying himself to State Affairs, and dispensing Justice without Distinction. From Considerations of Justice, and appreciating his Worth and Title, I granted to him the Fee of Five per Cent. which was enjoyed by former Naibs, as he is honest from Nature. He represented, that so long as the Loss of State Expenditures was covered by the Profits accruing from the good Management of the Country; the Perquisite Money should be collected in the Treasury. He has acted accordingly; that is, taking into consideration his advanced Age, and the Uncertainty of Life. He has lodged in the Exchequer the Perquisites under the Designation of the Naebut Treasury or in his own Name, and that of his own Name and that of his Descendants in perpetuity. As not even One Fourth or One Fifth of the aggregate Amount of the Fees has been collected, no Information was conveyed to you on this Subject in anticipation of the Conclusion of the Year in Bhadoon.

Under these Circumstances it is a Matter of Regret that the Allowances of Agha Meer should be recognized by the British Government; and although his Engagement is forthcoming, to the Effect that when he had paid the Money of the Treasury he would take the Allowance granted under the Deed, yet he left a lasting Monument of his Tyranny over the Inhabitants of this Country to a boundless Extent, under the Protection of the said Deed, and not the slightest Mention should be made of its Approval or otherwise; and a Subject on which I myself intended to make a Communication to the Officers of the British Government should be hinted to be disapproved before the Receipt of a Letter from the Government.

No. 21.
(continued.)

I have written all this in consideration of the Union subsisting between the Two States, and it is proper that you should transmit to my renowned Uncle the Right Honourable the Governor General a Copy of this Letter with your Correspondence.

(True Translation.)

(Signed)

JAS. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copies.)

(Signed)

George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 22.

No. 22.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
8th August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to communicate, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that His Majesty has lately added to his Military Establishment a Corps of Infantry, which arrived at Lucknow a few Days ago, and was inspected by the King, having been raised by Rajah Durshim Sing. The Corps is dressed similarly to British Sepoy Battalions, and its Strength is 900 Men. Some Particulars regarding it will be found in the accompanying Paper of News.

2. It seems proper to communicate this Augmentation to the Army, as inconsistent with the Professions of Reduction.

Lucknow Residency,
8th August 1831.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JAS. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

Particulars of the Futteh Jung Pultun.

Rajah Durshim Sing commenced in the Beginning of Aghun 1246 Hejree (November 1830) to take Recruits for this Battalion, and by the end of Chyte (March 1831) of the same Year entertained nearly 900 Men, and added to it a Company of Sepoys which had been formerly raised by him, giving the Command of the whole to Bodhee Sing, Commandant, a Friend of his; nearly 400 of the Honourable Company's Sepoys who had resigned the Service and were living at Home took Service while the Men were levied, and exercised the Recruits.

Durshim Sing allows Five Rupees to each Sepoy, and has sent the Battalion to be inspected by his Majesty. Bodhee Sing, who has the Command of a Battalion of Nuzeebs also, is not come here. Shewdut Sing, the Major, is with the Battalion.

His Majesty never fixed any Name for this Corps, but as it was engaged with a Fort in Durshim Sing's Elaka, and the Men displayed much Courage and took it, Durshim Sing called it the "Futteh Jung Pultun" ("Victorious in Battle.")

While the Fort was besieged many of the Sepoys deserted, and the Battalion is therefore reduced to about 900 Men, who are Inhabitants of Gondah, Chundour, and Bysewarrah.

(True Translation.)

(Signed)

JAS. PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copies.)

(Signed)

Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to Mr. Secretary PRINSEP, dated
25th July 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to forward, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the Copy and Translation of a Note from his Majesty, setting forth the Intention of instituting a Reform in the Tract of the Country bordering the Ganges and the British Provinces to the Extent of Ten Miles inland, and expressing the Conviction that the Arrangements made for the Management of that Tract will, by the Suppression of Disorders, operate in obviating Complaints from the British Magistrates beyond and bordering the Ganges.

2. Doubtless an efficient Administration there or elsewhere in Oude would ensure the Suppression of the Evils complained against, and it is to be hoped that the King may be successful in producing Reform; but, in the vacillating Councils of Oude, Dependence cannot be placed upon Promises of Amelioration: their Fulfilment will be more satisfactory; and I shall be happy to report the intermediate Steps towards so desirable an End, as they may be brought to my Notice.

Lucknow Residency.
25th July 1831.

I have, &c
(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

TRANSLATION of an Official Note from his Majesty the KING of OUDE to the Address of the Assistant Resident in Charge, dated 12th Suffur 1247 Hijree (23d July 1831).

As the Officers of the British Government in the Company's Provinces have often given rise to Correspondence between the Two States, on the Ground that the frontier Elakahs of the Country were in a disordered Condition, I, in consideration of this, have been desirous of making for the present an Amanee Settlement in the Villages situated on the Bank of the Ganges within Five Coss; and of forming and strengthening the Police Establishment, by fixing Thannahs at proper Places. Orders have in consequence been issued to the Government Officers to digest a Plan, and give Efficacy to the System of Reform; and the Plan that has been finished will be soon transmitted for your Inspection. Under these Circumstances I am persuaded that the wholesome Effects of this Arrangement, and the salutary Reform of this important Service, which is a small Example of the whole Mass, will at once remove the Complaints of the British Functionaries, and be the Source of Tranquillity and Satisfaction to the People, of Protection to the weak and the poor against the Rapine and Oppression of the cruel and the powerful, and of shutting the Gates of Anarchy and Confusion caused by the mischievous and disobedient; and a Knowledge of which will afford Pleasure and Satisfaction to my renowned Uncle, the Right Honourable the Governor General.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
4th August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to state, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that the Minister this Day visited me, and gave the Letter and Statement of which I herewith forward Copies and Translation. The Minister spoke upon the Difficulty he experienced in carrying on his Duties, and his Anxiety for the Support of the Resident and British Government.

2. It will be observed that his Majesty's Letter applies for the Aid of British Troops, and represents the Task of introducing Reform into his Kingdom, if restricted to his own Resources, and debarred the Aid of
(130.) T European

No. 24.
(continued.)

European Officers, and prohibited from farming out his whole Territories to the Minister, as one of extreme Difficulty, which he illustrates by this Simile:—
“Thou hast tied me to a Plank in the Depth of the River, and then tellest me
“not to wet my Skirt, and to be careful.” Hence, if left unaided by the British Government, the Reform of Oude appears problematical, and the unhappy People may be left to groan under the Miseries of the present System to an indefinite Period.

3. The King in this Difficulty asks the Aid of the British Government, and it appears a Question for serious Consideration whether the Time has not arrived for active Interference. The British Government cannot escape from the Responsibility; and when the Evils and Oppressions of Mis-government are hourly falling heavily upon Thousands, the whole Country would have Cause of Thankfulness were speedy Interposition made.

4. When the British Government has determined to carry into effect the Provision of the Treaty of 1801, and to act in concert with the Oude Government, Restoration of Order and Tranquillity to the Country would not seem difficult of Accomplishment.

5. An able Resident, if sent with full Powers, would, it is to be hoped, find His Majesty ready to submit to all Measures, including the Appointment of all Aumils, Tehsildars, &c., &c., for Consideration, and to abide by the friendly Counsel and Advice of the British Representative.

Lucknow Residency,
4th August 1831.

(Signed)

I have, &c.

JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the KING of OUDE to the Address of Mr. PATON, the Assistant Resident in Charge, dated the 6th Suffur 1247 Hijree, corresponding with the 17th July 1831. (Received 4th August 1831.)

I HAVE perused and thoroughly understood the Contents of your Letter of the 11th Mohurram 1247 Hijree (22d June 1831), stating that you had received a Letter from Mr. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor General, dated 11th June 1831, in reply to my Communication to the Resident's Address of the 1st Rubbee ool Aeoul 1246 Hijree (21st August 1830), together with the Kubbooleut and Putta therein enclosed, making over to the Minister Nerwaub Moontuzim ool Dowlah the Farm of the Kingdom of Oude for a Period of Ten Years (to the End of the latter). I also, nearly at the same Time, received another Letter from you, communicating that the Measure of appointing British Subjects for the Settlement of the Country and Collection of the Revenue was disapproved, unless they were placed under the Control of the British Government, and, consequently, the Appointment of Colonel Gardner would not be allowed for the Management of the Country.

The Fact is, I consented to a Change in the Mode of managing this Country which has existed for a Century since the Time of my Predecessors, to gratify the Right Honourable the Governor General, and to gain his Satisfaction, in the Hope that the Officers of the British Government would afford the Aid of its Troops on all Occasions in the Execution of this Plan, until the Reform was satisfactorily established in the Country. But as it has been repeatedly proved by the Correspondence of the British Government, that the Aid of Troops is conditional on the Suppression of the Cruelty, Oppression, and bad Faith of Tahsuldars, and on the Production of Proof of the Disaffection and Contumacy of Zeemindars in paying the just Dues of the Government (as inserted in the Putta and Kubbooleut), on the Strength of their Power, and the Possession of the Implements of Opposition, and Means of committing Dacoitees, and that unless these Facts are proved, and the Propriety of reducing them is shown, it would assuredly be an Act of Cruelty to grant the Aid of Troops:

In consideration of these Arguments, and with reference to the Correspondence of the British Government, I was desirous of appointing some English Gentlemen (who would be taken into my Service with the Knowledge and Permission of the Governor General;) so that if it was found that the Tahsuldars oppressed the Ryots and Malgoozars, or that if the quinquennial Puttah and Kubbooleut were not acted upon, these Gentlemen would check and prevent such

such Proceedings; and that the Five Years Settlement should take place under their own Eyes, consistently with the proper Means of the Farmers. If, notwithstanding this Arrangement, and the good Faith of the Aumils, the Zemindars, relying on the Numbers of their Followers, and the Implements of War, and the Strength of their Forts, did not pay the just Revenue of the State, agreeably to their Kubbooleuts and Puttahs, or embraced a Life of Plunder and Violence, and made no Revenue Payments, these Gentlemen, who were appointed as Aumeens, and Witnesses of their Contumacy, would consider it their Duty to communicate to the Resident the Justice and Propriety of their Punishment; and the Confidence which would be reposed in their Reports, and on the Expression of their Opinion in favour of Punishment, would ensure the Deputation of Troops. For, when becoming Measures were adopted in One or Two Instances, and the disaffected were punished for their Misconduct, and their Forts were destroyed, others would be less prone to excite Disturbances; and this Example, combined with the Terror and Awe that the Gentlemen would inspire, would restore due Order. Consequently the proposed Appointment of Colonel Gardner to one Division was grounded on such Necessity.

No. 24.
(continued.)

His Lordship having now disapproved the Execution of this Plan, it is a Matter of equitable and deliberate Consideration, whether the Mode of managing the Country which has prevailed for a Century should be altered; and whether the Assistance of Troops, which should depend on the Proof of the Revenue Demand, and the Propriety of Punishment, should be refused at the Requisitions of Aumils and Tahsildars, and its Necessity denied; and the Proposal of appointing English Gentlemen as Aumeens, whose Reports are considered correct by the British Government, and whose Presence would also strike Terror and Awe into Zemindars as well as Tahsildars, should be disapproved.

In this Predicament it is very surprising how a Reform can be introduced. It is therefore proper that you will have the goodness to report these Particulars to my renowned Uncle the Governor General, and state that when I am in every Way disposed to merit the Satisfaction and Pleasure of his Lordship, who is the Guardian of this State, I hope he will confirm what I have proposed for the good Management of the Country. If he should not, the Aumanee System is now being introduced in One or Two Zillahs. But if the Attempt should be successful, if the Aumils grant Puttahs and Kubbooleuts consistently with the Means of the Farmers, and if the System of Police is carried into effect, and the Zemindars be still refractory, disobey the Police Officers, and make no Payments, they will not be terrified without the Deputation of British Troops. Friendship therefore requires, that you will obtain his Lordship's Permission to punish any Individual, while the Aumanee Settlement is in progress in One or Two Zillahs, should he deserve it by becoming a Plunderer, and not paying the just Dues of the State; and whatever Proofs you will require of his Disaffection will be submitted to you in detail, together with the Puttah, Kubbooleut and Wausil-baukee Accounts, that you might become acquainted with the whole Case.

When the British Government became possessed of the Ceded Territories such Measures were resorted to at the Commencement of the Settlement for the Destruction and Reduction of many refractory Talookdars, such as those of Asasee, and Thutheca, and Doonday Khan, &c., Zemindars of Keemona (in the Ceded Provinces), which restored good Order. In like Manner it will not be amiss if Measures are also taken, and Assistance afforded, for the good Management of this Country, which relies for Support on your Government.

Be it not concealed, that by the Farm of the Country by the Neewaub (the Minister) I had promised Satisfaction to myself, as this Country cannot longer bear Loss by the Greatness of the Expenditure and the Deficiency of the Revenue. I have anticipated Reform, by the Introduction of the Amanee System in the Country. Although a Defalcation in the Revenue may be expected in the Commencement, yet an Augmentation may be eventually calculated upon; and by the Time this Object was gained the Expences of the Government, and Payment of Allowances, would have experienced no Shock, owing to that Arrangement. But as his Lordship's Satisfaction is a primary Consideration with me, I shall act as his Lordship has desired. If, however, my Request is not complied with, for the Reform of the Country by the Amanee System, as already written,

No. 24. let no Blame be attached to my Officers, as the Case is according to the following
(continued.) ing Maxim :—

“ Thou hast tied me to a Plank in the Depth of the River, and then tellest
“ me not to wet my Skirt, and to be careful.”

(True Translation.)

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 25.

No. 25.

LETTER from H. T. PRINSEP Esq. to Major JOHN LOW, Resident at Lucknow, dated 25th August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

IN continuation of my Letter dated the 3d Instant, announcing it to be the Intention of the Governor General to appoint you permanently to the Residency at Lucknow, I am now directed by his Lordship to state that your Nomination to that Office has been communicated to the Residency, where your Appointment will be duly passed and published in the Government Gazette.

Enclosed are the usual Letters of Credence to be delivered to his Majesty the King of Oudh; and I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to furnish you with the following Instructions on the most important of the Questions now under Discussion at the Court, or that have recently been the Subject of References to the Governor General.

First.—The Application of the Court and of the Minister for the Countenance and Support of the Resident to proposed Reforms.

You will find on the Residency Records the Report of a Conference his Lordship had with the King of Oudh on the 26th January last, in which his Majesty was told that the State of Things in Oudh, and the Mal-administration in all Departments, were such as to warrant and require an authoritative Interference of the British Government for their Correction. That although his Lordship looked upon the Nomination made of the Neewaub Moontuzim ood doolah to be Minister with a favourable Eye, because of his known Experience and Capability in the Business of internal Administration, still that he declined to make himself Party to the Nomination, or to have it understood that the Measure was a joint Resolution of the Two Governments, so that both should be jointly responsible for its Success in effecting Reformation; that the Act was his Majesty's own, and the Responsibility must be his; that his Lordship hoped a better System would be established by his Minister's Agency; but, if he failed, and the same Abuses and Misrule were found to continue, his Majesty must be prepared to abide the Consequences. That it was his Lordship's Intention to make a strong Representation to the Authorities in England on the State of Misrule prevailing, and to solicit their Sanction to the Adoption of specific Measures, even to the Length of assuming the direct Administration of the Country, if the Evil were not corrected in the Interim. This Intimation was made to his Majesty in the Presence of his Minister, as a Warning of what they must both expect if Exertions were not made to improve the Management of Affairs; and his Lordship hopes that his Words were not without Effect, and that the Impression made will have induced an earnest Desire in both the King and Minister to correct existing Evils, and to govern according to System, making the Content and Well-being of the People their Aim and Object.

The Substitution of the Amanee Scheme for that of general Farm; the Establishment of Tribunals for the Cognizance of Complaints against Amils, and several other Measures since adopted are indicative of this wholesome Desire for Improvement. It is not his Lordship's Intention to express any Opinion as to whether these Measures have been or are likely to be successful; Time only can show that; but the Course it will be your Duty to follow, pending the probationary Term thus allowed to the Native Government of Oudh,

Oudh, may be indicated with sufficient Precision to enable you to shape your Proceedings in confidence that you are acting in conformity with his Lordship's Views and Intentions; and the preceding Observations have been introduced to prepare you for this Explanation.

The Government of Oudh, as well through the Minister as in a Letter addressed to his Lordship by his Majesty direct, in reply to the Note of the Conference put into his Majesty's Hands, has stated, that without the overt Support and Countenance of the British Government Affairs cannot be carried on in Oudh; that its Assistance is due by Treaty, and cannot be dispensed with, more especially while Reforms are in progress. The Governor General admits the force of this Plea, but with some Qualification. It is quite true, that if the People of Lucknow, or the Subjects of his Majesty in the Interior, were to suppose the British Government estranged or disjoined from that of Oudh, so as to leave them a free Arena, both the City and the Interior would probably rise immediately in Insurrection, and the Government would never be able to hold in Discipline and Subordination the large standing Army it has enrolled. Every Removal of a powerful Amil, or unpalatable Measure of any Kind, that might be attempted by the Minister, would be resisted, and produce a Disturbance of doubtful Event, and the Strength would be wanting without which Reforms could not be made.

Giving its full Weight to this Reasoning, his Lordship will require you to avoid assuming such an Attitude towards the Court of Oudh as shall be open to the Construction referred to. On the other Hand, you must be cautious not to make such a Display of Unanimity as shall enable the Minister to represent every ungracious, violent, or unpopular Act as the Result of your Urgency, which it will be his most probable Aim to do.

It will not be consistent with the Position in which our Relations with Oudh have been placed by the Result of his Lordship's Conference with the King, that you should dictate any Measures, or that you should originate, by Advice or Suggestion, the Prosecution of any particular Course of Action, without having previously received his Lordship's Sanction. Your first Endeavour ought to be, to obtain the Confidence of the Court to which you are accredited; and when it shall appear clearly to be neither the Intention of the British Government, nor the personal Ambition of its Representative, to assume an Authority inconsistent with the Dignity or offensive to the Feelings of the Sovereign or the Minister, the Court will then probably be anxious to court your Advice, as heretofore it has been unwilling to submit to the Resident's Dictation. If his Majesty or if the Minister voluntarily consult you as to the probable Effect and Expediency, or the contrary, of any Measures, you will then freely and candidly give your Opinion in the Spirit of the most friendly Concert.

The Governor General hopes that by maintaining a frank Intercourse on this Footing, a Sufficiency of Countenance and Support will be given overtly, to prevent Disturbance, or the Resistance to just Authority, and that your Influence will both be felt and be seen to be exerted for Good, without trenching on the Independence of Action which it has been resolved to leave to the Oudh Government.

Second Point.—The Court of Oudh has applied verbally through the Minister, and by the Letter to the Governor General, for the Aid of the British Troops, to reduce refractory Zemindars, tendering the Means of previous Inquiry to be made by the Resident, if desired.

The Footing on which this Matter now stands is as follows :—By the Treaty we are bound to give the Aid of Troops to quell internal Resistance, as well as to keep off external Enemies. By the same Treaty, however, the Oudh Government is bound to establish a good System of Administration, and to conform to our Advice in this Respect. Finding it impossible to procure the Establishment of an improved System, and seeing that our Troops were liable to be made the Instruments of Violence, and of vindictive and party Proceedings, it was determined to withhold the Aid of Troops, except after Investigation into the Case which might lead to the Application of them. By recent Orders from the Court of Directors the Government would be authorized in withholding them altogether, in the Hope that the Necessities of the Oudh Government might compel a Reform such as we might deem satisfactory. Matters have not, however, been brought to such an Issue, for the Oudh

No. 25.

(continued.)

Government, being deprived of the Services of British Troops to execute its Purposes, has entertained a Body stated at 60,000 Men, Horses, Foot, and Artillery, whereof 45,000 are stationed in the Interior, for the special Purpose of reducing refractory Zemindars without British Aid.

The Governor General, in his Conference with the King, urged the Expediency, indeed the Necessity of reducing this Military Establishment, the Number being tenfold in excess of the Establishment fixed for the State in the Treaty of 1801. Some Reductions have been made, and others talked of; but at the same Time other Troops have been raised, and it does not appear that so far any real Intention of carrying the Governor General's Injunctions into effect has been entertained.

The Application for the Services of British Troops is grounded on the following Reasoning:—That there can be no Reform or efficient Administration introduced until the refractory are subdued to Obedience; that if British Troops are allowed to take the Field against them they will submit immediately, whereas, with the King's Troops, the Season would be consumed in protracted Operations of doubtful Success in the End, and devastating and destroying the Country while they were in progress; in short, it would seem that the present Minister requires the British Government to prepare the Country for his promised Measures of Reform.

The Governor General looks upon this as a very nice Question. He is averse to give the Aid of British Troops for any general Purposes of the Kind described, because the Effect must be to make over the Population, bound Hand and Foot, for any Purposes that it may suit the Minister's Views to enforce. Of the after Measures there would be no Controul, even though the British Troops were only given in Cases where the Right in the first instance was ascertained to be on the Side of the Government. If lent, therefore, to enforce Submission, it seems impossible to avoid becoming Parties to the Terms of Submission, and Guarantees of their Observance afterwards on both Sides, in which Case we should become mixed up in every Detail of the Administration. Entertaining these Impressions as to the Consequence of giving the Aid of Troops, his Lordship is not disposed to comply with the Request for them until by the actual Introduction of a complete and efficient Reform in those Parts of the Oudh Territory where the King's Authority is not disputed he may have an Assurance of the Sincerity of the Government in its Desire to effect Improvement. In the meantime, the large Number of his Majesty's Troops, and the Misrule prevalent, may, as heretofore, be assigned as Reasons for not giving Aid as a Matter of Course on Application, and for requiring that each Case should be investigated and submitted for the specific Orders of the Governor General, who will indicate the Course to be observed in the particular Instance, according to Circumstances. The Case of Puttee Put Sing, just reported by the officiating Resident, will be taken up in this Spirit.

You will continue to urge the Court to reduce its enormous Military Establishment, but to do so with Discretion, cutting off in the first instance the least serviceable Parts, and being cautious lest the Discontents excited should raise against the Government a Force which, ranging on the Side of the disaffected and rebellious, will be too formidable for its proper Means. His Lordship would be sorry to be called upon to interfere on such an Occasion, and in allaying Disturbances having such an Origin it is difficult to say what Securities and Sacrifices would have to be enacted and guaranteed in order to restore Tranquillity.

Third Point.—Jurisdiction of the Resident over British Stipendiaries and Dependents residing in Oudh, and over Christians and British Subjects in his Majesty's Service.

The Governor General has recently obtained a List of the Stipendiaries and Dependents of the British Government in Oudh, and finds the Class to be very numerous. It appears that by Custom long established both themselves and their Servants are considered to be exempt from the Jurisdiction of the local Courts, Offences charged against them being sent to the Resident to be inquired into, and the Degree of Punishment or other Result being dependent on the View he may take of the Case, after inquiring into the Circumstances.

That the British Representative in Oudh should exercise such Authority in respect to Natives of the Country, and in some Instances Members even of his

his Majesty's Family, is obviously an anomalous and most objectionable State of Things; but the Question, from the long Continuance of the Practice, is one of extreme Difficulty. Future Instructions will be given to you on this Subject, and in the meantime you will of course by every Means endeavour to prevent Individuals of the protected Classes from so conducting themselves as to give just Umbrage to the Court and Authorities of Oudh, and the Power of withdrawing your Protection must always secure your Influence sufficient to effect this.

With respect to British Subjects and Christians in the Service of the King of Oudh, or otherwise residing in the Oudh Dominions, excepting such as may belong to the Troops stationed in Oudh under the Provisions of the Treaty, or may form Part of the Resident's Establishment, his Lordship is doubtful whether they can be entitled to claim Exemption from the ordinary Tribunals of the Country. These Individuals have voluntarily established themselves in Oudh, for their own Convenience and Advantage, and, under such Circumstances, neither the Usage of other Countries, nor Expediency, would seem to justify their being placed under the exclusive Jurisdiction of the Resident. But this Question will undergo further Consideration.

Fourth Point.—The King's reputed Sons, Kywan Jah and Fureedoon Bukht.

It is the Intention of the Governor General to furnish you with specific Instructions on the Subject of both the Boys brought forward by the King and treated by him as his Sons. This Head is introduced merely that you may be warned against taking any Steps or being led into Measures that will be open to the Construction of being a Recognition on the Part of the British Government of either of the Boys as Heir Apparent. You will use most Caution in respect to the elder, Kywan Jah, who is most put forward by his Majesty, but of whose spurious Birth there is the stronger Presumption.

Fifth Point.—Grant by the King of Five per Cent. on Receipts into and Issues from the Treasury to the present Minister and his Heirs in perpetuity. It is sufficient to observe upon this, that the British Government can give no Sanction or Recognition to any Grant of this Description, and that it will be liable to the same capricious Resumption or Revision with other Acts of the Oudh Government. The Principle upon which such Acts are considered as mere Exertions of the Influence of the Day has been fully recognized by Moontazim ood Dowla himself in his late Proceedings towards Ram Dyab, the former Minister, not to mention the Instance of Mooatumud ood Dowlah, to whom the written Document of both the present and late King would have afforded no Protection or Security, and who is indebted for his Liberty and perhaps even his Life to the Guarantee of the British Government only.

In addition to the above Points you will find that there have recently been various Questions raised upon which the Governor General has already issued specific Instructions. Of this Class are the Investigation of the Complaints pending against the late Minister Mootumud ood Dowlah, the Proposition to entertain Colonel Gardner on the Revenue Establishment of Oudh, and various others which it cannot be necessary to recapitulate.

The officiating Resident has very lately submitted a Proposal from the King to provide another House for the Residency at Char Bagh, in order that he may inclose the present House, with its Grounds, within the Palace of Furrubuksh. It is not his Lordship's Intention to take up this Question until you shall have joined the Residency, and given your particular Consideration to the proposed Change. His Lordship will therefore wait your further Report upon the Subject.

Shimla,
25th August 1831.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 26.

No. 26.

LETTER from H. T. PRINSEP Esq. to Lieutenant J. PATON, dated
31st August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 16th Instant with its Enclosure, and in reply to state that the Governor General remarks that it is by no means his Wish that the Resident should be consulted prior to the Nomination, or be in any way a Party to the Appointment of the Aumils or Officers of the Oudh Government.

I have, &c.

Simla,
31st August 1831.

(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A True Copy,)

(Signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A True Copy,)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 27.

No. 27.

LETTER from Lieutenant J. PATON to H. T. PRINSEP Esq., dated
31st August 1831. (Received 24th April 1832.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to transmit, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, the Copy and Translation of a Paper given to me by the Minister about Fourteen Days ago, purporting to be a Statement of Disbursements made and Savings effected in the Establishments of his Majesty the King of Oude during the present Minister's Administration exhibiting an annual Retrenchment in the Expenditure of 23,30,241-7 Rupees.

2. It will be observed that the eldest Aunt, Kheir Oonissa, Sister of the King's Father, in whose Favour frequent References have been made to the King and Minister, has been here cut down from 8000 Rupees to the poor Allowance of 2000 per Mensem, though in a previous Note from the King 2500 are inserted as the Pension fixed for that Lady, so that they appear not yet decidedly to have settled this Matter.

3. There is an Evil in having such a loose and vague Paper as the present submitted to the British Government, because it has the Appearance of having the Sanction and Approval of that Government; whereas, it would be rash indeed to approve of the Acts or Retrenchments of the Oude Administration without first ascertaining their Justice.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
31st August 1831.

(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

No. 28.

No. 28.

EXTRACT Fort William Political Consultations, 2d December 1831.
(Received 27th December 1832.)

ORDERED, That the following Letter from the Secretary to the Governor General to the Resident at Lucknow, in reply to Lieutenant Paton's Letter dated 31st August last, recorded on Political Correspondence of 30th September (No. 54), be here recorded.

(Copy.)

LETTER from the Secretary to the Governor General to Major J. Low,
Resident at Lucknow.—(7th November 1831.)

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of the late officiating Resident's Letter, dated the 31st August last, forwarding Copy and Translation of a Paper containing Statements of Disbursements made and Savings effected in his Majesty's Establishments by the present Minister; and in reply to state, that, as observed by Lieutenant Paton, the Statements in question prove nothing

nothing except that there have been extensive Retrenchments. The Evidence of a successful Administration must be sought in Results of a very different Kind, and the Minister may be assured that the Attention of the Governor General will not fail to be directed to any Appearances of an improved State of Things in Oude which may be the Consequences of his Measures.

Camp, Putteeala,
7th Nov. 1831.

(Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,
Sec. Gov. Gen.

No. 28.
(continued.)

No. 29.

No. 29.

ABSTRACT of a DISPATCH from Major J. Low to the Address of the Secretary to the Governor General, under Date the 25th April 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

THE Resident reports to the Governor General the Increase of the King's Indisposition; his subsequent Symptoms of Recovery, and present Prostration of Strength; regrets the Exhibition of his Majesty's Weakness of Character in the lavish and culpable Expenditure of the Public Money upon his Wives, who require this Mode to pacify their Clamours in consequence of his Majesty's taking Medicine against their Wishes. He is at length induced to take Medicine, on the Entreaty of his Minister and a few of his real Friends. The King soothes the Clamours of his Begums, in consequence of taking Medicine, by enormous Presents of Gold Mohurs from the Treasury; and, for the first Four or Five Times of taking Medicine, he follows up the Extravagance at every Repetition, insomuch that there is good Ground for believing that in the Three last Weeks he has drawn from the Treasury Sixteen Lacs of Rupees, and about Two and a Half in Jewels, to the great Grief and Vexation of the Minister, because the Continuance of this Folly would make it impossible for him to continue, as hitherto, the regular Disbursements which are made from the current Treasury, the separate Treasury under Captain Futteh Alla Khan being considered as a sacred Hoard, to be untouched but on very urgent Occasions. The King is still obliged to take Medicine. The Minister, alarmed lest further Inroads upon the Treasury should be made, resolves to save the remaining Treasure, by paying up the Establishments. There now remains not enough Treasure to pay to the Resident the remaining Fifteen Lacs of Rupees on account of the Provision made for Koodseah Begum. But the Resident has no Doubt of ultimate and speedy Payment, for Portions of Revenue continue almost weekly to replenish the Treasury from the Provinces.

The Resident visited the King Yesterday Evening, intending seriously to admonish him on the Folly of such a culpable Expenditure; but finding him so unwell deemed a Subject so unpleasant unsuited to the Occasion, but intends to avail himself of the Opportunity which will shortly be given of impressing on the King's Mind the Folly and Danger of such Conduct.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 30.

No. 30.

ABSTRACT of a DISPATCH from the Resident at Lucknow to the Address of the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated 13th June 1832.

MAKES a general Report of the Minister's Measures for the Reform in the Administration of Oude; reports the Conduct of the King, and the Reasons which induced the Resident to abstain from bringing the Subject of Reform (in a general Point of View) to his Lordship's Notice before now; notices the Zeal of the Minister for the Interests of the State, and the Motives which seem to actuate his Conduct; adverts to the judicious and praiseworthy Conduct of Lieutenant Paton when acting as Resident; adverts also to the Effects of his Lordship's Warning, supported by Mr. Maddock's subsequent Representations; alludes to the Difficulties experienced at first by the Minister in the Work of Reform, to the Benefits arising from the British Government not having conferred a Khillut on the Minister, to the bad Faith of former Ministers, and to the Resident's Exhortation to the Minister to pursue an opposite Course; notices the injurious Latitude allowed to Farmers in the Oude Country, and to their Mismanagement and oppressive Conduct; mentions the Amanee System and its Benefits, the late Checks imposed upon the new Amils, and the Punishment awarded to Two corrupt Thannahdars;

No. 30. alludes to the Part of Country still farmed, and to the Farms of Durshim
(continued.) Sing and Bheem Sing,—the former, it is trusted, will be removed shortly ; details the Districts made Amanee within the last Eight Months, and the separate Five Coss Settlement, the Benefits of which are pointed out ; notices the Confidence now entertained by various Zemindars, owing to the judicious Treatment of Pirtheeput Sing by the Minister ; encloses a List of refractory Zemindars who have submitted to the Government ; gives their general Character, and states that they were directed to wait upon the Resident, who encouraged them to continue on good Terms with their Government ; adverts to the Number of Troops disbanded, and submits a List of them ; and, in conclusion, notices the Saving to Government, and the probable good Consequences of this Measure in other respects.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 31.

No. 31.

LETTER from Major J. Low, Resident, to the Right Honourable Lord WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK G.C.B., Governor General of India, dated 13th June 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

My Lord,

MY Dispatches, from Time to Time, since my Arrival at this Court, addressed to the Political Secretary, having been chiefly either for the Purpose of procuring your Lordship's Orders on different Points or to report particular Events of immediate Interest, I think it right now to address to your Lordship a more general Report upon the Affairs of Oude.

2. As much depends at all Times in a Native State upon the personal Characters of its Sovereign and his Prime Minister, it would seem natural, in a Report of this Nature, that the Character of the King of Oude and of his Minister the Nuwab Moontuzumudowlah should be minutely described ; but as I find from the Records of this Residency that your Lordship is already fully acquainted with them, it seems to me sufficient now to describe their Conduct during the Eight Months that it has been under my immediate Observation ; and it will be necessary also to advert to the Proceedings of the Minister during several Months previous to my Arrival at Lucknow.

3. The Conduct of the King may be described in few Words. He spends almost the whole of his Time in Indolence and Inactivity, or in effeminate Amusements, scarcely ever attending to the Public Business of his Kingdom, excepting when forced so far to do so by the Minister as to sign important Papers, such as the Appointment of new Chuckledars or Amils, and new Revenue Settlements of Districts, also Orders for disbanding Troops, and other Documents ; but in regard to the framing of the Measures that are thus confirmed by the Documents alluded to his Majesty takes little or no Interest ; and even with regard to Patronage he seldom interferes, excepting with respect to Situations within the Precincts of the Palace.

4. The King writes the Persian Language with Ease ; but with the single Exception of that Acquirement, I believe that his Education was totally neglected ; and from that Circumstance, and partly also, probably, from an original Weakness of Intellect, he has so little Knowledge of the Duties of a Sovereign Prince that I consider it fortunate for his Country that he trusts so entirely as he does to his Minister for the Management of it. His Majesty is extravagant in the Disbursements of Public Money, of which some Instances were lately reported to the Political Secretary ; but fortunately the Gifts in question have been confined exclusively to Money bestowed on Persons in the Interior of the Palace. He has entirely abstained during the last Twelve Months from giving Farms or other Advantages in the Country to his unworthy Favourites.

5. During the first Two or Three Months after my Arrival at Lucknow the Minister displayed so much Zeal towards improving the State of Affairs throughout the Country, and laboured so hard personally to accomplish that Object, that I felt averse to reporting this general Conduct to your Lordship in so very favourable a Point of View, lest my doing so should have led to Disappointment ; for I could not help thinking it possible at least that such remarkable Zeal for the best Interests of his Country, and such Self-denial with regard to his own pecuniary Advantages, might not be of long Duration.

I have

I have now, however, been Eight Months at this Court, and I have very great Satisfaction in apprising your Lordship that the Zeal and Activity of the Minister remain unabated, and that (judging of the future by the past) there seems every Reason to believe that there is much Truth in his Declarations to me, that he has all the Rank and all the Dignity of official Situation that he desires, and that, as he has no Children to succeed to the Possession of his Fortune, he has also as much Money as he has any Want for or any Desire to possess, and that the grand Object of his Life is to improve the Government of Oude to the utmost of his Power, and to leave behind him a great Name as a Public Officer, both in the Estimation of the British Government and in his Native Land. The Minister is not without Faults as a Public Man; he is too suspicious, and gives way too much occasionally to angry Passions and harsh Expressions when any Difference of Opinion is expressed by other Natives; he is too economical also in some Public Disbursements, such as those intended for Public Festivals, when much Popularity would be gained by an opposite Course at a very trifling Expence, and he does too much himself in the Way of Details of petty Business, so that he undertakes more than any One Man can do with complete Efficiency; but nevertheless, take him all in all, I am satisfied that he is the most able and efficient Minister that this State has possessed during the last Twenty Years.

6. It is proper to state the Fact, that the laborious Exertions of the Nuwab Moontuzum ood Dowlah, above described, did not commence during my Ministry as Resident at this Court; they were in full Operation for many Months before my Arrival, under the Influence of the judicious Co-operation of Lieutenant Paton, whose conciliatory Manners to the King and to the Minister, and whose firm though always respectful Conduct, in compelling the Court (when necessary) to do Justice to those Individuals whom we are bound to protect, combined to render that Officer both esteemed and respected; and the Minister, finding that the Dignity of his Station was upheld by the friendly and disinterested Counsel of the acting Resident, felt both Pleasure and Pride in labouring for the Improvement of the Administration.

7. It is almost superfluous, however, to notice the Fact, that the Work of Reform, and the new Era (it may be said) in the History of Oude, took its Rise from the Date of your Lordship's Conference with the King and Minister in January last Year, when your Lordship threw the Responsibility of the Government of the Country exclusively upon his Majesty, pointing out to him the noble Field of Usefulness that was open to him if he and his Minister would do their Duty, and showed them at the same Time clearly the Ruin and Disgrace to the Court that would inevitably and rapidly be the Result of the System of Mismanagement and Oppression on the Part of the local Officers of this Country which for some Years had been so notorious, were it not immediately corrected, and the most opposite System established in its Stead, namely, that of making the Content and Well-being of the People the Object and Aim of the Government.

8. The Manner in which that Warning was given, and the Circumstance of its coming from the Head of the British Government in India, had naturally a great Effect upon the Native Authorities. At first, however, this Effect was not produced to such a Degree as might have been expected; but, backed up as your Lordship's Warning was by the zealous and very clear and earnest Representations of Mr. Maddock, some Time after your Lordship's Departure, the Court then became convinced of its perilous Situation, unless strenuous and efficient Exertions should be brought into action to ameliorate the Condition of the People; that Conviction at last fixed on the Mind of the King, greatly alarmed him, and knowing his own Incapacity to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he from that Moment allowed the Minister to displace some of his Majesty's unworthy Favourites from extensive Districts which they held in Farm, and which they had driven into Rebellion; and the Warning had naturally a still more useful Effect on the Mind of a Man of such Intelligence and Ability as Moontuzum ood Dowlah, who saw that it was his Interest to govern well, and who, fortunately for Oude, has the Talents and practical Knowledge that are requisite for the Task.

9. A Determination had accordingly been evinced before Mr. Maddock left this Court; but that Gentleman departed so soon after the Commencement of the new System that there was hardly Time for many great Measures to be

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(continued.)

adopted; and accordingly no important Improvements were sufficiently certain previous to Mr. Maddock's Departure, to induce him to report them to the Supreme Government. Indeed, before doing any thing material towards such a Reform as was necessary, the Minister had many interested Enemies to oppose him, and a Variety of Difficulties to encounter, that could not be overcome for a considerable Period of Time.

10. One of those Difficulties arose from the Uncertainty in the Minds of the Inhabitants of the Country as to the Duration in Office of the present Minister. The People of Lucknow were for many Years in the habit of thinking that no Minister could last for any considerable Time unless he had been nominated jointly by the British Government and the King; and it was always asserted by the Nuwab's Enemies, that the Circumstance of your Lordship and the Resident having declined being present when he received his Khillut of Office was a sure Indication that he was not destined to remain long in Power; and I am convinced that in consequence of that Impression many refractory Zemindars refused to accept any Offers from him for the Adjustment of their Differences, in the Hopes of a Change of Administration. There was thus some little Delay in commencing on the Work of Reform, which might have been avoided; but the temporary Convenience that might have been gained by our bestowing a Khillut on the Nuwab does not deserve a Moment's Consideration, in comparison with the solid and permanent Advantages that we secure by avoiding all Participation in the Nomination of any Minister at a Foreign Court.

11. Lieutenant Paton's judicious Mode of conducting his Duties with the Durbar gradually tended to convince all Parties of the real Object of the British Government, namely, to co-operate in a friendly Manner with this Minister (or indeed with any other Minister whom the King might nominate), provided that he really did his Duty; and your Lordship is aware that the Amanee System was substituted for that of Farming in several Districts, and that Tribunals for inquiring into Complaints against Aumils, and other useful Measures, were adopted before my Arrival at this Capital.

12. There is no Doubt that the Want of good Faith on the Part of the Oude Government in its Revenue Transactions was one of the principal Causes of much of the Misery that existed in this Kingdom some Years since; and it has therefore been my constant Aim, ever since my Arrival at Lucknow, to impress that Fact on the Mind of the Minister, and to persuade him of the Necessity of his always pursuing the opposite System, viz. that of adhering religiously to the Terms of Agreements made with all Classes of Men who pay Revenue to the State; and to the best of my Belief the Nuwab is now pursuing that good Course, which in the End will prove not less advantageous to the Government than to the People.

13. The Oppression which the Ryots have suffered from the local Officers in this Country is of very old standing, and a considerable Period of Time must still elapse before it can be entirely prevented, even when the Government itself wishes to act honestly; and I have accordingly thought it my Duty frequently to press this upon the Notice of the Minister, who seemed to me at first to think that he had secured good Government to the Inhabitants of every District when he had relieved them from the Oppression of a Farmer, placed the District under the Amanee System, and appointed to it an Aumil whom he supposed to be a good Character.

14. The Farmers of Districts in Oude had always a complete Carte-blanche as to the Amount of Money they might take from Cultivators. They were also very uncertain, generally speaking, how long their Leases might last; while, in addition to the Sums to be paid to the Government, they had heavy Sums to pay to the Bankers who were their Securities for the Realization of the Revenue due to the State, the same Amount being expected by the latter every Year whether the Seasons were favourable or otherwise. Under such a wretched System it seems almost certain that every District under Farm must be a Scene of cruel Injustice towards the Cultivators of the Soil; while in many the Oppressions to which they were exposed must have been intolerable.

15. On the other hand, an Aumil in a District under Amanee is not called upon for any Security for the Amount of the Revenue, nor does the Government look to him, personally, for that Revenue, in the event of any Refusal to pay what is due from them on the Part of the Zemindars, who in that Case are called

called to account for the Deficit by the Government itself. The Aumil, in fact, is a Government Officer, on a fixed Salary, and is only (like our own Collectors) liable to Removal from Office if any Failure in the Revenue be attributable to his Negligence; thus an Aumil has not nearly the same Temptation as a Farmer has to be rapacious. It is natural, also, that the Durbar should be much more careful in its Selection of Aumils than of its Farmers of Revenue, because its own pecuniary Interests are deeply concerned in such Selections; whereas, it matters little to a short-sighted Native Government whether the Farmer be of a good or of a bad Character, because it is equally sure in either Case of securing to itself the full Year's Revenue from the Soucar (Security).

16. Adverting to the wide Difference, as above described, between a Farmer and an Aumil, I have no Doubt that the Nuwab is right in thinking that he has at once effected substantial Good in substituting the Amanee System for that of Farming; but I thought it right, nevertheless, to press upon his Mind that Aumils also may be both corrupt and cruel; and I therefore urged the Expediency of having some greater Check upon them and the other Government Officers in the Amanee Districts beyond that of having established Tribunals at Lucknow for hearing Complaints against them.

17. The Minister professed himself ready to meet my Wishes, and after several Conversations on the Subject with me, he apprized me that he had adopted the Plan of having a Proclamation posted up in a conspicuous Place in every Village of each Amanee District, detailing the Nature and Amount of the Settlement that has been made with it for the Year, and calling upon the Inhabitants to come or send to Lucknow to complain in the event of Officers of Government making any Demands beyond those which may be justly due. This has, I have Reason to think, had a good Effect. Several Oppressions have been complained of, and the Government Officers have been fined and dismissed; and in Two Cases, where Thannadars were proved to have extorted Bribes, they were not only fined and flogged, but publicly disgraced, by being turned out of their Districts with their Faces blackened, and mounted backwards on Asses. One of the guaranteed Gentlemen here mentioned this Anecdote to me in Dispraise of the Minister, whom he taxed with bad Policy for so doing, and said he was so harsh that he would never get respectable Men to serve under him. I do not at all agree in such Reasoning. I believe, indeed, that the Minister would do better if he sometimes checked his Disposition to use harsh Language to Men whom he suspects to have neglected their Duties, but I am convinced that such Severity as that inflicted on the Thannadars above alluded to will be of Public Benefit.

18. Having particularly adverted to the injurious Tendency of the Farming System, I think it right to mention that there are still Five Districts continued in Farm, amounting to about 48 Lacs of annual Revenue; and I may here mention that the whole Land Revenue of Oude amounts, at present, to about 140 Lacs of Rupees, of which 92 Lacs are now realized from Amanee Districts, and about 48 Lacs from Farms. One of the largest of the farmed Districts is that of Sultanpore, including Part of Purtabghur, and is rented by Rajah Durshim Sing, who has long been notorious for exacting the utmost that he can from the Ryots who are unhappily placed under his Control; and I have Reason to think that he is at the present Moment as rapacious as ever. The Minister assures me, however, that by the End of September the whole of his District shall be put under Amanee System, and I shall take care to keep him in mind of his Promise to that Effect. He is thinking, also, he says, of adopting the same Measure with respect to the Salone District, (now rented by Rheim Sing,) as soon as the Khureef Crop shall have been reaped in September or October next; but the Minister will not, at present, positively promise to do so in this Case so early as the Time above mentioned, first, because his Arrangements are not complete for the Measure, and next, because no such urgent Necessity exists for it as in the Case of Rajah Durshim Sing.

19. I now proceed to state to your Lordship what has actually been done in regard to important beneficial Measures within the last Eight Months. Since that Time the following Districts have been taken out of the Farming System and put under Amanee Management; viz.

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continued.)

	Amount of Annual Revenue.
Khyrabad, including Gaujur, Bangurmow, Para, Khyreegurh and Muchubutta	} about 16,00,000 Rupees.
Hurha, including Rumheerpoore, Isowla, Surown, Gowdah, and Pursundeen	} about 6,00,000 Rupees.
Rusoolabad, including Oomam, Surowsee, Sekundurpore, Jhulotee, Villages of Futteh-pore, Chowrasee	} about 4,26,000 Rupees.
Saeepore, including Assewun, Pershaud, and Ookoo	} about 3,00,000 Rupees.
Five Coss Frontier Elakas in Sultanpore, Purtabghur, and Okherpore	} about 7,00,000 Rupees.

Total Rupees . 36,26,000

20. It seems now proper to notice the separate Amanee Settlement for about Five Coss in Breadth towards the Company's Possessions in the Dooab, a Measure which was commenced on some Months previous to my Arrival here, and has been added to since that Date; indeed it is now extended further to the Eastward than opposite to the Dooab, several Talooks having been made Amanee taken from the Farms of Bheem Sing and Durshim Sing bordering upon the Ganges below Allahabad.

21. The only Difference between that narrow Strip of Land and the other Parts of the Country which have been made Amanee is, that in the former a more expensive Establishment of Police is entertained, and Watch Towers are also now being erected, (under the Superintendence of Mr. Robert Orr,) for the Purpose of preventing as much as possible, or of discovering at all events, the Ingress or Egress at the Frontiers of Dakoits, Thieves, or other Culprits.

22. I have every Reason to think that these Arrangements have been of public Utility. There is, undoubtedly, a Diminution, in comparison to former Times, in the Number of Complaints that reach this Office from the surrounding Magistrates, in regard to the Disturbers of the Peace from Oude entering the British Dominions, a Fact that may be attributed in a great degree to those Border Arrangements; and The Circumstance of Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner at Allahabad, having lately authorized a Reduction of the Horsemen hired some Years since, in consequence of the numerous Plunderers from Oude, forms another Proof that the Arrangements in the Five Coss Country (as it is called by the Natives here) have been beneficial to the Public Interests.

23. Your Lordship is already aware, from my Reports to the Political Secretary, that Two of the most important of the refractory Zemindars of this State, namely, Raja Pirtheput Sing of Hurha, and the Raja of Manparan, came to an amicable Settlement of their Differences with the Government, and have obtained a Five Years Settlement from the State, with which they are entirely satisfied; and I have now the Satisfaction of reporting, that since the honourable Treatment experienced by Pirtheput Sing became known in the Country, no less than Twelve other Chiefs similarly situated have voluntarily arrived at the Court, and have entered into new Engagements with the Government. Some of these Men have but small Possessions, but they are all of Importance, either from personal Character, from the strong Nature of their Country, or from the Amount of the Force at their Disposal. They were all irregular as to the Payment of their Revenue, and disobedient also in other respects; and not one of them for many Years before would venture to place himself at the Mercy of the Oude Government as they have now done by visiting the Capital.

24. These hitherto refractory Zemindars have come in so rapidly of late that I have not had Time to make myself acquainted with their past History, and it therefore occurred to me Yesterday to ask the Minister for a short Account of those Chiefs, which he has accordingly sent to me, and of which I have now the Honour to inclose a Translation.

25. I cannot of course vouch for the precise Accuracy of the enclosed Account in regard to the past History of those Chiefs, but I can vouch for

the main Facts in question, namely, that they have all been for Years refractory, and Encouragers of Misrule in others, and that they are all now contented, and, for the present at least, obedient to their Government.

26. The Minister offered to send several of those Persons to me as they respectively arrived at Lucknow, in order that I might hear from themselves what they had to say, but not wishing to give even a Semblance of my taking a Share in the Settlement of their Affairs, I declined seeing any of them until after their Agreements with the Government had been completed; but after all Arrangements between them and the Durbar were finished, I saw each of the Chiefs in my Office for a few Minutes, when I congratulated them on the happy Change which had taken place in their Situation, and encouraged them to a Continuance of good Conduct. They all professed to be well satisfied with the Terms that had been granted to them by the Government, and several of them mentioned that they would many Years ago have been glad to get such Terms as had been now given, but that they never before thought they could depend upon the good Faith of the Administration.

27. As your Lordship must doubtless recollect that in the early Part of the last Year several Detachments of the Troops of the Oude Government were besieging the Forts of some of those Zemindars who have been described in the preceding Paragraphs, it seems here proper to mention the pleasing Fact that no Troops are now similarly employed. There is not, at present, any open Rebellion existing in any Part of Oude.

28. It only now remains to advert to the Reductions in the Oude Army, the Necessity of which I have, in obedience to your Lordship's Instructions, frequently urged on this Government, and I have accordingly the Honour to subjoin a Memorandum of the Soldiers discharged since my Arrival at this Court; viz.

MEMORANDUM of the Troops disbanded by the Oude Government from the 11th October 1831 up to the 13th June 1832.

Names of the Regiments or Parties of Troops.	Horse.	Infantry.	Artillery.	Total.	When discharged.
Troops attached to Meerza Mohumud Ruffe Allee Khan.	—	1,012	—	1,012	October 1831.
Troops with Buctour Sing - -	—	1,545	—	1,545	November 1831.
Troops with Mohumud Unlee in Khyrabad.	—	2,000	—	2,000	Do.
Troops with Koondun Lal - -	—	2,000	—	2,000	Do.
Nazir Allee's Battalion - -	—	589	—	589	January 1832.
Jafree Battalion - - -	—	506	—	506	Do.
Raja Buctour Sing's Battalion - -	—	963	—	963	Do.
The Hyderee Resalla - -	709	—	—	709	February 1832.
Troops in the Mohundee District - -	—	848	—	848	Do.
Troops in the Lucknow District - -	—	214	—	214	Do.
Battalion of Ameer Beg - -	—	487	—	487	Do.
Mohummud Allee Khan's Battalion - -	—	363	—	363	Do.
Mogul Beg's Battalion - -	—	427	—	427	Do.
Stationed in the Manickpore, Salone, Sultanpore, and Lucknow Districts.	—	—	1,020	1,020	March 1832.
At Lucknow, Moorsabaugh, and Balagunge.	—	—	1,100	1,100	April 1832.
Ussur Allee's Nujeebs - - -	—	468	—	468	May 1832.
Total Men discharged - -				14,251	

29. The monthly Expende of the Troops detailed in the foregoing Memorandum was, I understand, about 80,000 Rupees, and the Saving thus realised of nearly Ten Lacs of Rupees per Annum is of itself a satisfactory Circumstance, because it lessens the Chance of any Pressure on the current Treasury to provide for those Disbursements that are really required, and therefore lessens, pro tanto, the Temptation to the Government to resort to unfair Means for adding to its Revenue, but the chief Advantage that I think is gained by this Reduction.

No. 31. Reduction in the Army, and by so many Military Weapons being thrown into Store is, first, that the Individuals in question have not the Means of doing that Mischief that an armed Rabble often commit unknown to their Superiors, and next, that with respect to the Government itself the immediate Power as well as the Temptation to oppress the People is considerably diminished.

I have the Honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Lucknow Residency,
13th June 1832.

TRANSLATION of a PAPER of INFORMATION furnished by the Minister to the Resident at Lucknow, 12th June 1832.

LIST of refractory Zemindars who have made their Submission to the Oude Government, with Particulars of Police Establishments and their Ekrarnanahs, during the last Six (Lunar) Months.

No.	Name of Talooka.	Name of Talookdar.	Remarks.
1	Domdeah Kherah	Ram Buksh Sing -	This Zemindar did not attend the Cutcherry for Twelve Years. By Degrees he became so turbulent a Character that he had Twelve Guns with him. He set the Government Authority at defiance, and paid whatever he pleased. He came to Lucknow on the Faith of the Nuwaub Moontazum ood Dowlah, and executed a Kubooleut for Three Years. He entered into the same Engagements as those of the Rajah of Nauparah on the 6th February 1832, and delivered his Guns.
2	Tiloe - -	Shunker Sing -	Ditto Ditto entered into Engagements on the 9th January 1832.
3	Naynon - -	Sheopersand Sing -	Ditto Ditto entered into Engagements on the 20th February 1832.
4	Bhudree - -	Zalim Sing - -	Ditto Ditto entered into Engagements on the 10th May 1832.
5	Oonee - -	Goorbux Sing -	Owing to the oppressive Conduct of former Farmers he had retired into the District of Cawnpore about Ten Years ago, and sometimes made Inroads into the Oude Dominions. He came in on the Faith of the Nuwaub, and a Nunkur has been settled on him in perpetuity. He has cheerfully made his Elaka Kham Tuhseel. He has promised to deliver up his Guns, and entered into Engagements on the 22d April 1832 to obey the Police.
6	Gowrah - -	Ram Buksh Sing -	This Zemindar always fought with the Chuckladars, and Hundreds of People were killed, as Gowrah is a very strong Place. On the Faith of the Nuwaub he is become a peaceable Subject, surrendered his Fort to the King's Officers, and on the 9th January 1832 entered into Engagements to respect the Police, to prevent Highway Robbery, and to obey any Orders that may be issued respecting British Sepoys, who are for the most Part Inhabitants of his District.
7	Buhmura Elaka of Mahmaoda-bad.	Ameer Ali Khan -	He had been in Rebellion for Ten Years, and as the Jumma was too high he committed Dacoities. He came to Lucknow on the good Faith of the Nuwaub, and a Remission has been made in his Rents. On the 11th May 1832 he engaged to respect the Police, and to live at Lucknow with his Children.

No.	Name of Talooka.	Name of Talookdar.	Remarks.
8	Rujowlee in Per- gunnah Dewah.	Bhugwunt Sing -	For Two Generations this Zemindar has not attended on the Aumil or at Lucknow, paying whatever he liked. He had about 1,000 Followers, and led a predatory Life. He has now attended on the Faith of the Nuwaub, and delivered up his Fortress. On the 13th May last he engaged to obey the Police, to cut down his Jungle, and to live at Lucknow. A Settlement for Five Years has been made with him.
9	Lowlands of Tool- sepo and Rajhut.	Rajah Dan Buhadoor	He never attended the Cutcherry, and always remained below the Hills, paying whatever he liked. He has attended here merely on the good Faith of the Nuwaub. On the 13th of May 1832 he entered into Engagements to obey the Police.
10	Suheepore, &c. -	Nehal Sing - -	He is notorious for his turbulent Conduct and for his predatory Life. He always opposed the Amil, but has now attended on the Faith of the Nuwaub. On the 19th January 1832 he entered into Engagements to obey the Police. In consideration of his promising to become a peaceable Subject, and to pay his Revenue punctually, his former Offences have been graciously pardoned. He has given up about Thirty Gurhees that had been constructed in his Elaka to the King's Officers, and has obtained Permission to return to his District.
11	Muhgawim - -	Rajah Bissum Sing	He was in attendance at the Time of the late Vizier Saadut Allee Khan; but subsequently, in consequence of the Exactions of the Farmer, he retired to his Fort in the Jungle, and fought several Times with the King's Troops. He led a predatory Life, and has now attended on the good Faith of the Nuwaub. He has given a Kubooleaut for Five Years on a reduced Jumma. He executed an Ikrarnamah on the 6th February 1832, to obey the Police, to cut down the Jungle, and to demolish his Fort, in which a Thannah has been established.
12	Ootrowla - -	Mohummud Khan	Ditto - Ditto - Engagement dated 13th May 1832.

(True Translation.)

Lucknow Residency,
13th June 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 32.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., Secretary to the Governor General, to Major J. Low, dated 25th June 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 13th Instant, forwarding a Dispatch to the Address of the Right Honourable the Governor General, containing a general Report of the Minister's Measures towards introducing a Reform into the Kingdom of Oude.

(130.)

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(continued.)

2. The Information which you have furnished on the present Occasion is, I am desired to acquaint you, in the highest Degree gratifying to his Lordship.

3. The Celebration of the Mohurram was, as justly observed by you, usually characterized by Violence and Bloodshed during the Administration of former Ministers, and the Freedom from such Occurrences which distinguished the recent Occasion is in all Probability attributable to the judicious Measures adopted by the present Head of Affairs.

4. The Zeal and Judgment which Moontuzumood Dowlah has displayed in improving the State of Affairs throughout the Territory of Oude are extremely creditable to the Character of that able Minister. You are requested to apprise him of the Satisfaction felt by his Lordship at hearing of his meritorious Exertions, and to exhort him to a steady Perseverance in the same Course of Policy which is calculated to place on a solid and lasting Basis his Reputation as a Friend and Benefactor to his Country.

Simla,
25th June 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 33.

No. 33.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 2d August.

REPORTS a serious Estrangement between the King and the Minister; alludes to the Channel through which these Reports reached the Resident, and to the King's Duplicity of Character in being displeased with the Minister, while he wrote to the Governor General in his Praise so lately, &c. &c; mentions the several indirect Messages, (one from Ramdial) brought to the Resident expressive of His Majesty's Wish to have a private Conference with him, and the Answers given; states the Communication made by Tajooddeen Hoossain Khan, for the same Purpose, at the express written Commands of the King, which induced the Resident to grant the Meeting at Delkoosha; encloses a Minute of the Conference; alludes to the Duties of Tajooddeen at the Residency, and to the probable Consequences of his being made the Medium of this Communication; Taj Oodeen Hoossain Khan solicits the Resident's Advice, which the latter declines to give, for the Reasons stated; Taj Ooden states the Motives which induced the King to select him as his Messenger on the present Occasion. Taujooddeen Hoossain Khan notices the Causes which led to the King's Displeasure, viz. the Hatred of the Begums and the King's Relatives, owing to the Minister's extreme Parsimony and Use of abusive Language; concludes by stating the Reasons for making the present Report, and adverts to the eminent Services of the Minister, and his disinterested Zeal for the best Interests of his Country.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 34.

No. 34.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 2d August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

It is with deep Regret that I have to report to you, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that a serious Estrangement has taken place between the King of Oude and his Prime Minister, as communicated to me by his Majesty on Tuesday last the 31st Ultimo, during Three separate

private Conferences that I had with him, first in his Carriage going to the Dilkosha Palace, again in a private Apartment of that Building after Breakfast, and lastly in his Carriage while returning to the City.

2. During the previous Week several Rumours of this Estrangement had reached me, though no one knew the Reason of it, further than that the King's Displeasure had been immediately caused by some Communication from his Mother the Padsha Begum, a Fact that has since proved to be true by Part of the King's own Conversation with me.

3. The Rumours alluded to reached me by various Channels besides my own Servants in the Intelligence Department, who had observed a marked Difference in the King's Deportment towards the Minister at the daily Breakfast Parties in the Palace, when it was seen that the King scarcely spoke a Word to the Minister, and neither accepted those Attentions which he was in the habit of accepting formerly, or bestowed any of those Civilities himself upon the Minister which he was wont to do. The Nuwaub himself had of course observed all this, and had entreated an Explanation of the King, but in vain. It is a remarkable Fact, and a melancholy Proof of the King's Deficiency in Openness of Character, that at the very Time he was manifesting this Disposition towards the Minister, and thus materially shaking his Authority and his Power of transacting Public Business with Efficiency, his Majesty personally dictated the Letter to the Governor General which I had the Honour to forward to you on the 31st Ultimo, and in which Letter the King volunteered to express his Thanks to his Lordship for encouraging the Minister's Exertions, by announcing to me that the British Government felt pleased at hearing of the Improvment which had taken place in the Administration of this Kingdom.

4. Several Persons mentioned to me during the last Ten Days that the King was desirous of having a private Conference with me; they were all indirect and unauthorized Channels of Communication; chiefly Servants of guaranteed Native Gentlemen, ostensibly waiting upon me on their own Business, but who at the same Time took the Opportunity of saying that they knew positively, and had been desired indirectly by his Majesty to say to me, that he was anxious for a private Conference.

5. To all these Communications I gave but One Style of Answer; viz. that I conceived the Speakers were imposed upon by some Person or Persons wishing to commence an Intrigue; that I had told the King myself Dozens of Times that I was at his Command, any Day, or at any Time, whenever he might wish to have a private Conference with me; and that if he really wished a private Conference he would doubtless tell me so himself when I was at his Table or when he was at mine, or he might write to me, or send me a Message openly by One of his own Servants. Latterly, on finding these Messages repeated, I went further, and said, that, supposing for Argument sake those Messages to have really originated with the King, I would not receive them through such Channels; that if the King wished to speak to me privately, and yet would not deal with me in an open and friendly Manner, the Loss would be his, and not mine, and I told the Messengers (who I began to think were really sent by the King) no longer to meddle with Business in which they could not with Propriety have any Concern.

6. It is proper here to mention, that a Message was also delivered to me, said to be from Ramdial, (a former Minister,) entreating that I would permit a Vakeel of his to wait upon me for the Purpose of making an important Communication from his Majesty. I immediately gave a positive Refusal, and in an austere Manner desired the Messenger to quit my Office.

7. All these Occurrences took place prior to the 30th Ultimo. On that Morning, Tajooddeen Hoossain Khan waited upon me. He was in considerable Agitation, in consequence of a Note he had received from the King in his own Handwriting, and which he showed to me. The chief Purport of this Note was an Order to Tajooddeen to apprise me that the King was anxious to have a private Conference with me as soon as possible, and without the Presence of the Minister or any Third Person. This Communication was still of an irregular Nature, because the King ought to have written, or have sent a Message direct to myself; but seeing that the Handwriting was positively the King's own, and knowing from what had already occurred that the Minister's Authority was considerably shaken by the Change which had taken place in the public Demeanor of his Master towards him, I thought it best to comply

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continued.)

ply with the now evident Wish of his Majesty, and I accordingly sent a Note in the usual Manner, to say that I was now ready, as soon as it might be convenient to him, to accompany him in his Carriage to the Dilkoosha House, and to breakfast there. I mentioned this Plan in my Note to the King because he had himself proposed it some Weeks since, when he last breakfasted with me, as an agreeable Excursion, as soon as the Weather might clear up. The King immediately closed with the Proposal, sending me a Message in the usual open Manner by a Chobdar, to say that he should be happy to see me at Breakfast at Dilkoosha the following Morning; that he would meet me at any Hour I might name, at the Gate of the Palace, where he begged that I would leave my own Carriage and enter his Majesty's, and thus converse with him privately on the Journey, as well as after our Arrival at Dilkoosha.

8. I accordingly breakfasted with the King at Dilkoosha the Day before Yesterday, and had a very long Conference with him, which for Convenience sake I have recorded in the separate Minute which I have now the Honour to enclose.

9. As I have alluded to the Circumstance of Taj Oodeen Hoossain Khan being agitated in consequence of the Receipt of the King's Note, it may be right to mention the Cause of that Agitation.

10. The official Designation of Taj Oodeen Hoossain Khan is that of King's Vakeel, and he attends at the Residency almost daily for the Transaction of petty current Business, the Minister himself not having Time to transact all those Details, because it frequently involves the Necessity of personal Conversation with the Resident several Times in the same Day, but he was selected by this Minister as all such Vakeels have been, I understand, by former Ministers, and no Communication was ever made to him before direct from his Majesty himself, excepting occasional verbal ones, and those in the Minister's Presence.

11. Now the Note alluded to was not only addressed to Taj Oodeen Hoossain Khan unknown to the Minister, but the King threatened the former in the most solemn manner with his eternal Enmity if ever he should disclose the Contents of it to the Nabob. Taj Oodeen was thus placed in a very embarrassing Situation; Destruction stared him in the Face were he to disobey the King's Orders; and, on the other hand, he was sorely afraid of giving dire Offence to his Friend and Patron the Minister, to whom I think he has a sincere Attachment; nay, he was afraid, he assured me, by being involved in this Affair, of being ultimately ruined by the King's own Habits of Duplicity. "It is possible," said Taj Oodeen Hoossain, "that the King may again restore the Nawaub to the highest Favour, and for the sake of the Country I sincerely hope he may; but then he may turn round upon me, may falsely accuse me of being a Go-between in an Affair against the Minister, and may silence my true Statement of it, and may disgrace me, and throw me into Prison. The King has often acted in this Manner to even those whom he himself forced into such Affairs as he has now done me."

12. Tajoodeen Hoossain, in this Dilemma, intreated my Advice as to what Line of Conduct he had best pursue. I really felt much for his Situation, but being thoroughly convinced, from long Experience of the frequent and often disreputable Squabbles of Native Sovereigns with their Ministers and Courtiers, that it is far better for a British Resident to take no Part whatever in them, when of a secret Nature like this, I declined giving any Advice on the Subject, plainly stating to Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan the above-mentioned Reasons for my Determination.

13. I enquired of Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan what he conceived to be the Cause of the King's selecting him (a well-known Adherent of the Nuwaub) on this Occasion. He stated the following to be his Belief as to the Causes of the King addressing such a Note to him; first, that it was more easy for him than for any other Person to make a secret Communication to me, because he is in constant Attendance at the Residency at all events; and next, because the King has an unpleasant Hold upon him in consequence of the Durbar not having yet relieved him from a heavy Money Responsibility on account of the Revenue of a District of which he was for some Time the Tuhseeldar, although he has Mootummud oo Dowlahs Receipts for the whole Sum claimed. This Subject was expressly alluded to in the King's Note to Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan, who was reminded that he had not yet got an Acquittal from the Court for that alleged Revenue Debt.

14. I asked

14. I asked Tajoodeen what he believed to be the Cause of this extraordinary Change in the King's Mind towards the Minister? He replied, he thought he could account for it all, and proceeded to say that it was mainly owing to the Enmity and Intrigues of the Padsha Begum, whose constant Representations worked upon the excessively weak Character of the King, and frequently, as in this Affair, made him act very unjustly; but partly, also, owing to some Errors of the Nuwaub himself; "and yet," said Tajoodeen, "it is very hard upon the Minister that such Displeasure should have occurred; for there has not been such a truly good Minister in the State for these last Forty Years, as far as regards the Management of the Country; and there is not now One Man here the least to be compared to him, either for Ability or Disinterestedness."

15. Tajoodeen proceeded to say, "the Nuwaub has not made a single Friend for himself, either among the numerous Begums or among the Male Relatives of the King, or the Courtiers about the Durbar. He has looked entirely to the King and to the Resident, and, devoting himself zealously to the Labours of his Office, he always thought that the Goodwill of those Two was amply sufficient for his Safety and Support. But," said Tajoodeen, "that is positively not enough for a Minister in this extraordinary Place; because there is no Dependence to be placed upon the Continuance of the King's Favour towards any living Being who happens to be hated by the Begums."

16. I here asked Tajoodeen to reflect seriously on the Subject, and to tell me what he thought to be the Cause of this Hatred on the Part of the Begums and Courtiers? He replied, that it required no Reflection; because, from long Observation, he felt as certain that he knew the real Cause as he knew that he was then sitting in my Room and speaking to me. "It is owing," he continued, "to his over-strict Economy in petty Details, such as the Expences of the different Muhals, that the Begums hate him; and the Hatred of the King's Relations and other Men in Office in the Durbar has been brought about by the same Cause, for the Nuwaub has reduced the Salaries and Advantages of every one of them; but in regard to the Men, especially the Relations of the King, I am convinced that the Nuwaub's bad Habits of making use of abusive Terms in his Language when he gets (as he frequently does) into a Passion, has even done him more Injury than his Parsimony in the Disbursement of the Public Money. I have several Times mentioned these Things myself to the Nuwaub, but never with any good Effect; and I was obliged to desist, for in disagreeing with me when I said that mere Civility on his Part would be politic and proper in every respect, he used Language that I would not expose myself to again. I am his Servant, and his sincere Wellwisher, but I am descended from a respectable Family. I am willing to work hard for him, but I cannot submit to harsh Language. I would rather resign my Situation, though I have got a Thousand Rupees a Month."

17. In the course of this long Conversation Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan made the following Observation, which I think worth mentioning:—He said that "the Nuwaub was the best Amil (of Khyrabad) that ever was seen in Oude. He was sent to a District that was in a wretched Condition, and the People poor and miserable; in the course of a few Years he brought it into a State of extraordinary Prosperity; he made it a Garden, and rendered the Inhabitants prosperous and happy; they venerate his Name to this Day; but he was exceedingly strict in making Men obey him at all Times, and in all Affairs, great and small. He always did real Justice, but was often harsh in Language and Manners, not caring who the Parties before him might be. He was feared as well as respected by all Classes. He has been pursuing a very similar Course here as Minister. He has attempted to govern this whole Kingdom in the Way that he governed Khyrabad, but that is not possible, because there are Men of high Rank here, who will never forgive harsh Language, and because it is impossible to trust to this King being Two Months in the same Temper of Mind on any Subject. In short, the King is like a wayward spoiled Child. God knows if any Man can keep him right."

18. Threatened as the Minister is at this Moment with Dismissal from his high Office, from capricious and unjust Motives on the Part of the King, I have thought that it might be interesting to the Governor General to give the above

No. 34. long Quotations from the Words of Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan, because I
(continued.) have every Reason to think that he has given a true Account of the only
Errors that can be fairly laid to the Minister's Charge. Indeed the Governor
General will observe, by comparing the foregoing Account with the Fifth
Paragraph of my General Report to his Lordship's Address of the 13th of
June, that a great Part of Tajoodeen's Communication is corroborative of the
Opinions which I previously formed of the Minister's Defects as a Public
Officer. I need hardly say that I consider such Faults to be trifling indeed in
comparison to his Merits; for his natural Talents, and his practical Knowledge
in the Management of a Country, and his Zeal for the King's best Interests,
and the Services that he has actually performed towards this State during the
last Eighteen Months, are all of the highest Order.

Lucknow Residency,
2d August 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

MINUTE of a CONFERENCE between his Majesty the King of Oude and the
Resident on the 31st July 1832.

ON my first entering into his Majesty's Carriage the Conversation consisted
merely of complimentary Inquiries on both Sides; but after a very few
Minutes I alluded to my being now with his Majesty according to his Request,
as communicated in his Note to Tajoodeen Hoossain Khan, which had been
shown to me; but I entreated the King at the same Time never again to
have recourse to these secret Messages; that they were totally unnecessary;
that I was his Friend, and the Resident at his Court; that he is a King; "and
"it is surely," said I, "more proper and becoming your high Station that you
"should write to me yourself, or send me an open Message, than you should
"have Occasion to use the Agency of low Servants belonging to other People."

This was so very long a Conference that I shall place this Record of it in
the Shape of a Dialogue, to the best of my Recollection, both as to the Order
in which the Conversation actually took place, and as to the actual Expressions
used on both Sides. I proceed therefore by giving the King's first Reply.

The King.—I am afraid the Minister wants to be King, and to make me a
Cypher in my own Capital; there is no saying what he might do if he saw me
acting for myself with you. Saddut Allee Khan was poisoned by some Enemy;
I too may be poisoned.

Major Low.—Afraid! It is surely not possible that you can be afraid; you
must be joking with me, my good Friend. So far from the Minister being your
Enemy, he is labouring constantly for your Advantage, and he never mentions
your Name but in Terms of Gratitude and Affection.

The King.—What are his Labours to me? He treats me with Slight and
Indignity; he has offended all my Relations, and he has publicly insulted my
Mother the Padshah Begum. One Day he amused himself, before several
Persons, by placing my Father's Picture on the Floor, and by driving his Foot
through the Canvass; his Foot went through the Head in the Picture, and then
he had it thrown out of the Room. I never can forgive him such an Insult
to my Family.

Major Low.—I feel confident that your Majesty has been imposed upon;
you know that I am your real Friend and Wellwisher, and I declare to you
my real Opinions on all Occasions; I cannot believe that a Man in the full
Enjoyment of your Favour, and who is serving you so faithfully, could possibly
be guilty of such downright Folly.

The King.—Served me faithfully, indeed! What Services are you talking
about? Are you my Servant's Friend, or my Friend?

Major Low.—I am your personal Friend, and what is of more Importance,
I am a sincere Friend to your Kingdom, and to the Prosperity of your
Country; and it is only by the Prosperity of your Country that you can be
respectable and happy. If I have been friendly hitherto to the Minister, it
was because he was successfully labouring for your Advantage. I have no
Eniendship, and never can have any Friendship, for any Servant of yours,
excepting on account of their good Services to you. The Nowaub has already
restored your Country in a great degree to Tranquillity; he has increased
your

your Revenue, and it is owing to his good Management (under your Majesty's general Directions) that the British Government is now so pleased with you that it has complied with every Request your Majesty has made since I arrived at Lucknow. Besides, I must remind you, my dear Friend, that you have yourself constantly told me of the extraordinary Merits of your Minister, and you have repeatedly told me that the more Kindness I might evince towards him the more you would be obliged to me; and now you say I am taking his Part because I am alluding to those Services which you have constantly informed me of, and mentioned to me in Terms of the highest Praise. If the Nuwaub has committed any Mistakes, or even Faults, why do not you mention them to him, when no Doubt he would immediately correct them; or, if you wish it, I will order him to alter any thing that is amiss; but I think it better that you should do it yourself; you are his Master, and depend upon it he will obey you in any thing like a good and faithful Servant. For God's sake, reflect upon the extreme Improbability of what you have now mentioned to me, and think of the probable Motives of your Informers. Were they not Enemies of the Minister's long ago? Are they not likely to tell you Falsehoods? May I ask you, in sincere Friendship, who told you this strange Story?

The King.—It was before my Face (*Meray Samney.*)

Major Low.—Good God! you cannot be serious; you cannot mean to say that any Man would presume before you (the King of Oude) to be guilty of such Conduct, *unless it was indeed by your express Orders!* and I know that you would never authorize such Impropriety. In short, I do not really know what your Majesty means. Pray explain yourself?

I laid particular Stress upon the Words "unless it were by your express Orders," because I suddenly recollected having heard, shortly after my first Arrival at Lucknow, that something very like this Occurrence about the Picture did actually occur in the King's private Apartments; the Person who kicked the Picture being one of the King's own Minions, and having done so by the King's own express Orders. It was a common Practice of the King's, it is said, to make several menial Servants mimic his late Father's Voice and Words and Gestures; and it is said that on one Occasion the Finale to some Follies of that Description was that of one of the Mimic's kicking a Picture of the late King in the Manner now alluded to by his Majesty. How far this Story is true I cannot say; I have merely mentioned it now because my Answer had an extraordinary Effect upon the King; he was quite silent for about a Minute, and looked much confused. He then recovered himself, however, and explained his own Speech as follows, viz.

The King.—When I said "*Meray Samney,*" I meant that I knew it to be a Fact as well as if it had actually happened before my Face. I know every thing that happens. I know the Words the Minister speaks, though he has no Idea that I am so well informed.

Here, after some desultory Conversation, the King admitted that the Padshah Begum was his principal Informant; and he expatiated at great Length upon her Talents for acquiring Information, and upon her extraordinary Abilities in every respect.

Major Low.—I have nothing to do with the Talents of your Mother; she may be very clever: but your Majesty told me yourself that she has all along been an Enemy of the Minister; and you told me further, that she was the main Cause of the Mutiny of the Golundauzes, and that she had behaved very ill on that Occasion.

The King.—That is an old Story, and has nothing to do with the present Business. I have many other Faults to find with the Minister. He made me look ridiculous in the Eyes of my Subjects some Time ago by imprisoning a Man who is a Connexion of mine by Marriage. He has offended all my Relations by reducing their Salaries contrary to my Wishes, and by making Rules in regard to their Attendance at Court, contrary to the Customs of my Family in former Times; and, what is worst of all, he has made use of most improper Language about my Mother, and about my Wife, the Nowaub Koodscah Begum—the latter *before my Face*; and that I swear to you, in the Name of the Prophet and all the Saints, to be a *positive Fact*. Now I am thinking of removing him from his Office, and of appointing some one else; but the Fact is, that I mean in future to transact most of the Business of this

No. 34. Government myself, and this is the Point upon which I wish to ask your
(continued.) Advice. You are my Friend, I trust.

Major Low.—Do you wish me to give you my Advice according to the best of my Judgment as a sincere Friend, which I really am?

The King.—I do.

Major Low.—Then for God's sake dismiss the Notion of removing the Nowaub from your Mind,—above all, for some Time to come; you cannot immediately learn all the Details of Government. Order any Faults that may really exist in the Proceedings of the Minister to be altered, but do reflect upon your own Situation. Do you recollect what the Governor General said to you and wrote to you about the Mismanagement of this Country? Be assured, that if the Affairs of this Country get again into Confusion, you will individually be the main Sufferer; you will in the end be a disgraced and ruined Man. And who can you find that is so capable of assisting you in the Affairs of your Government as this Minister? He was your own Selection too, and for which wise Selection you have obtained the high Approbation of the British Government, and gained immense Advantages to yourself in Ease and Comfort, and Respectability and Wealth. The Governor General would be astonished if I were to communicate to him this Proposition of yours, and I have no Hesitation in saying that he would be sorely displeased were the Nowaub to be displaced. Surely you would not wish to incur the Displeasure of your best Friend? And why would the Governor General be displeased? First, because he would see there was no knowing when to believe your Majesty and when not; for it is only a few Days ago that you wrote to his Lordship speaking in the highest Terms of the Minister, and now you say that you have been for some Months dissatisfied with him; but the main Cause of his Lordship's Displeasure will be from his knowing that your Government is now going on so well, and from his fully believing that a great Difference will take place for the worse by your removing the Nowaub. I repeat to you, beware of the Risk to yourself if this Country should fall again into Confusion.

The King.—I will think of it again, and I will not do any thing without your Advice, and I will tell you much more when I shall breakfast with you this Day Week, or perhaps I will write to you before I see you; and I will also talk over the Business fully with you on Tuesday next. I will do nothing at all 'till I see you again; set your Mind at Ease on that Point.

The preceding Paragraph contains the last Words the King made use of to me when he left me at the Gate of his Palace; and this Paper, and the Letter which gives Cover to it, contain all that I as yet know of this disreputable and unfortunate Change which has taken place in the Mind of the King towards his Minister.

During this long Conference there were only Two other Subjects started by the King which were of any Consequence; the one was a contemptible Endeavour (somewhat indirectly expressed) to gain me over, by some enormous Bribe of Money, to recommend to the Governor General the Removal of the present Minister, and the other was a Question to me as to what had been the Answer from Government as to the Boys Kywun Jahs and Furdyoon Bukht.

I was so much disgusted at finding the King mistake my Character so much as to allude to a Bribe that my Rejection of the Offer was couched in Terms that alarmed, and, I fear, gave some Offence to his Majesty, but I think that this Feeling was so far got over afterwards as not to injure any little Influence I might have as to the Business on Hand, and his Majesty was latterly, to all Appearance, in good Humour towards me personally, though deeply disappointed at my differing in Opinion with him as to the capricious and unjust Sentiments which he now expresses towards the Minister.

In respect to the Affair of Kywun Jah and Furdyoon Bukht, I shall make it a subject of a separate Report.

The main Principle which guided me during this vexatious Conference was this, that although I could not with Justice maintain the Minister in his Office against the Wishes of his Master, yet that I might legitimately say to the latter,

latter, under all the peculiar Circumstances of this Case, that the British Government would view his Removal both with Regret and Displeasure, as no Charge has been brought against him that is not outweighed in a striking Degree by his real Merits and Services.

No. 34.
(continued.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Lucknow Residency, 2d August 1832.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 35.

No. 35.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 4th August 1832.

REPORTS, that after the King's Promise not to do any thing 'till he had again seen the Resident respecting the Minister, his Majesty, under the Influence of the Begums, sent for Moozuffer Ally Khan, and prohibited the Minister from coming to him; alludes to the Sensation created in the City by this Step, and mentions an Invitation sent to the King by the Resident to breakfast at the Residency on Saturday; encloses a Minute of the Conference, and remarks on the Uncertainty of future Occurrences.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 36.

No. 36.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 4th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

My Dispatch of the 2d Instant will have apprised the Governor General of the State of Affairs here up to that Date.

2. It had then been stated by the King that he would do nothing further until he should see me again; but an Occurrence took place on the 2d Instant which showed to the Public that the Influence of the Begums, or other secret Advisers, had overturned his Majesty's own Plans, as announced by him on taking leave of me.

3. The Occurrence alluded to was that of the King having sent for Moozuffer Allee Khan from Confinement, and having, through that Person, ordered all the Tents of the Court, both for Males and Females, to be pitched in the Khoor Spaid Mauzil Park; and also having announced (through a Servant of Moozuffer Allee Khan) to the Minister, that he might issue his Purwannahs as usual, but that he was not to attend at the Encampment. Moozuffer Allee Khan has long been an avowed Enemy of the Minister, and was the main Instigator of the late Mutiny of the Artillery Park.

4. The above-mentioned Occurrence caused a great Sensation throughout the City, to the Extent even of shaking the Authority of the Police, and of producing several Scenes of Violence in consequence.

5. Under those Circumstances, I deemed it necessary to have another Conversation with the King as soon as possible, instead of waiting 'till Tuesday (the appointed Day), if it were only to learn from his Majesty what his Intentions and Plans really were.

6. I accordingly sent a Note to request the Honour of his Majesty's Company to Breakfast on the following Day, if convenient to him; but as that was Friday*, I said in my Note that I trusted he would at all events come on Saturday at the latest. After Twenty-four Hours Delay the King accepted my Invitation for Saturday, this Day.

(130.) * N. B. The King generally declines going out anywhere on Fridays.

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(continued.)
—

7. The King accordingly breakfasted with me this Morning, attended by his Minister and other Courtiers, in the usual Manner, and after the Meal was over we retired to a private Room, the Minister not being called in at first, in compliance with the King's express Request.

8. I now enclose a Minute of the Conference which took place this Morning. The Governor General will perceive that it ended to all Appearance in a satisfactory Manner; but such are the strange Materials of which this Court is composed, and so capricious and childish is the Character of the King himself, (guided at all Times by other People, and not by his own Judgment,) that it is impossible to predict what may be the End of this melancholy Affair.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
4th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

MINUTE of a CONFERENCE which took place between the King of Oude and the Resident at Lucknow, this Day, the 4th August 1832.

I SHALL proceed, as on the 2d Instant, to record the chief Part of what occurred this Morning in the Shape of Dialogue, as that is, I think, the shortest Mode of doing so.

The King.—This is right; this is as it should be. Why should any Third Person ever be present? It was never the Custom at this Court. My Grandfather and my Father never allowed such an Innovation.

Major Low.—It was not I who made any Innovation. The Mode of carrying on private Conferences always has rested with yourself, and both in Mr. Paton's Time and in mine you declared that you preferred that the Minister should be present.

The King.—I could not help it; he did just as he liked, whether I would or not; and the Governor General himself begun this new Custom with him. How did he dare to speak to the Governor General on my Business without my being present?

Major Low.—It was by your own Authority; and be assured that the Minister's Conversation with the Governor General, instead of being injurious to you, did you a great deal of Good, for it was owing to his Lordship's high Opinion of your Minister's Talents that the British Government allowed you that Freedom of Action as to the Management of your Country which you enjoy at this Moment. But do not, my good Friend, let us waste our Time in this Manner. Here we are together, and we can be as often together as you like; tell me what you are about, and what are your Plans. (The last Time I was with you you said that you had resolved to make no Change until you either should write to me or see me again.)

The King.—I have made no Change.

Major Low.—Yes, you have made a material Change; you are going out of the City with all your Court, and you have announced to the Prime Minister of your own Choice that he was not to attend you. The People are already disobeying the most common and necessary Orders from the Minister. Is that no Change in the State of Affairs?

The King.—That is nothing. I have altered my Mind about going out in the Camp; but I mean in future to do the Business of my Government myself.

Major Low.—Be it so; you have a Right to do it if you think you are capable of such tremendous personal Labour; but I entreat you to recollect what the Governor General told you, and wrote to you, as to what would happen if the Affairs of your Country should again fall into Confusion.

The King.—I remember all that; but I shall soon learn; try me, you will find that I am not a Child; I am fit for Business of any Kind.

Major Low.—Be it so. There is some Company's Business now at a Stand which must be settled immediately.

Here I took from my Writing Desk several Papers which I had prepared beforehand (from anticipating something of this Kind), and I read and spoke from those Papers, demanding Explanation from Time to Time of the King as to the Cause of such Irregularities, and more particularly as to the Measures which the King may propose for remedying the Evils described. Two late Occurrences were particularly dwelt upon by me. One was the forcible

Detention of some Opium Boats on the Ghagra, and the other was that of some violent Acts of Cruelty and Oppression on the Part of Rajah Durshim Sing close to the Borders of the Allahabad District, and which will doubtless soon cause Inconveniences in that District, if active Measures be not adopted by this Government.

The King, as I expected, became much confused, and could not give me a single Business-like Answer. I then changed my Tone, and assuming the kindest Manner in my Power, I begged him not to injure himself in this Way. "Learn Public Business," said I, "as soon as you can by all means; I shall rejoice to see you so occupied; but, in the meantime, let me settle this Business with the Minister, for settled it must be, and that immediately." The King said he would send the Minister to me to settle the Business in question. I then explained to the King very fully what had occurred in the Mysore Country, owing to the Rajah's Neglect as to the proper Management of his Kingdom, warning his Majesty earnestly of the Risk of such Disgrace occurring to himself if his Affairs should again fall into Confusion, and it seemed to make a considerable Impression on his Mind for the Moment.

The King.—You must not tell all that about the Rajah of Mysore to the Minister. I expect you to be my Friend, and not my Servant's Friend.

Major Low.—I have no Intention of saying a Word to the Minister about the Rajah of Mysore, but if you go on as you have been doing the last Two Days, shaking the Authority of your own Minister, by desiring your People to avoid him, I must tell every Word that has passed between you and me to the Governor General. I keep no Secrets from my own Government.

The King seemed a good deal startled and vexed by the last Part of the above Speech, as far as I could judge from his Countenance, but he made no Observations, and I accordingly proceeded as follows:

Major Low.—As for my being your Friend, and not that of your Servant, as you have now expressed yourself, I do assure you, on my solemn Word of Honour, that I never shall have any Friendship for the Minister, unless he continue to do your Business properly; if he, or any Servant of yours, were not to obey your Orders, or not to do your Kingdom good Service, I should have no Friendship for him whatsoever. You are his Master, and he must give you Satisfaction in all things; I will tell him so if you choose.

The King.—Do so; I want him to be convinced that I am his Master in all Affairs, great and small.

Major Low.—Depend upon it that such are the Minister's own Feelings, and you shall be immediately convinced how true this is.

I then opened the Door of the private Apartment, and ordered a Servant to call in the Minister, who immediately came and took his Seat with us. I then told the Nawaub that I had hitherto treated him kindly not on his own Account, but merely because he was working hard and successfully for the King's Advantage; that the King was his Master, and that if he were not to give Satisfaction to his Majesty my Kindness would instantly cease; that I was the Friend of the King; or, "more properly speaking," said I, turning round towards the King, "I am a Friend of this Government."

The Minister.—The King my Master and I his Servant! That is not the Way to state the Case. I am his Slave, and he is my Owner; my Life is devoted to his Service; my Head and my Hands and my old Carcase are his Property. I never wish to depart from his Wishes even by a Hair's Breadth. He then continued, addressing himself to his Majesty, "For God's Sake, if I have ever done any thing wrong; do but point out my Faults, and they shall be instantly rectified!"

I looked around towards the King, in hopes that he would at last act openly, and mention some Faults, whether real or otherwise, but to my great Disappointment he did not charge the Minister with any Faults whatsoever; his only Observation was, "It is nothing; it is nothing;" and at last he said, "All will yet be right."

Major Low.—I am delighted to hear your Majesty say so; but I wish you would deal openly with this old Servant. Tell him his Faults; you are his Master; it is proper that a Master should point out the Faults of his Servants, and order them to be atoned for.

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(continued.)

Here the King whispered to me, "Don't tell him what I said of him to you ; I cannot remain here if you do any thing of that Kind."

Major Low.—Very well ; it shall be as you please ; your Majesty will doubtless tell him every thing yourself.

An embarrassing Silence then occurred for some Seconds, when I hit upon an Expedient which seemed greatly to relieve the King, by addressing myself to the following Effect to the Minister :—

Major Low.—The King is going to mention to you himself some Points which have not given Satisfaction, and doubtless you will immediately rectify them ; but I may here notice One Point that I have heard from others lately as having been offensive to the King, namely, that you are not sufficiently polite to the King's Relatives, that you do not even always return their Salaam. Such is the Report.

The Minister.—Is it so reported ? I was not sensible of it ; but if my Master says so it must be true ; it shall be rectified instantly ; if it ever happened it must have been by entire Inadvertance on my Part. I am short-sighted now in my old Age ; I am often so deeply engaged in the King's Business that I see no one who may be in the same Room with me, excepting the Person I may be speaking to. Sometimes, if I am engaged in writing, I don't see any body ; I see nothing but the Paper, Pen, and Ink. I have heard within the last few Days that the King's Uncles have been complaining to his Majesty about the Smallness of their Salaries ; but they were reduced by the King's own Orders. Was it not so, my Master ? (here the King nodded Assent.) His Majesty has only to give the Order, and all the Uncles can in Half an Hour hence get Ten Times the Amount of Salaries they ever got. It is the King's Money ; he disposes of it.

The King.—All these Matters shall be satisfactorily settled.

The Minister.—Thank God, thank God ! Settle them all in any Way your Majesty pleases ; only know me to be your devoted Slave.

Here a Scene ensued which was very affecting, and to me, I confess, somewhat disgusting. It was that of seeing an old and highly meritorious Man humble himself to the Dust before a young One, who has neither Capacity to appreciate his Merits, or feeling enough to sympathize with his Distress of Mind. The Minister suddenly came down from his Chair, and taking off his Turban, placed his bare Head between the King's Feet, laying hold of his Legs with his Hands, and calling out—"Pardon me ! pardon me ! If ever I erred, I did so unconsciously. I never will do so again if I am only told of my Faults."

The King was a good deal ashamed, to all Appearance, and he placed his Hands on the Minister's Head, and then on his Back, and pronounced the Words "I pardon you, Nawab Sahb. Get up and take your Chair." The Minister got up, and under much Agitation, and with Tears in his Eyes.

To relieve the Embarrassments arising from such a Scene I then commenced demanding an Explanation from the Nabob respecting the Opium Boats, and the Disturbances in Dnrshim Sing's Talook. My reverting to Business immediately restored the Newab to his natural Activity of Mind, and he went through the Discussion with his usual Intelligence and Abilities, and the King listened with a good deal of Attention, and apparently with Interest. Papers, however, were wanting on both Sides, and it was settled that the Minister should call upon me to complete the Business. A short desultory Conversation then took place about the intended new Residency, when the King proposed to depart, in consequence (as he said) of the long Time that the Gentlemen and Ladies must have been waiting in the Banqueting-room, and we accordingly all Three left the private Apartment together.

The last Words spoken at this remarkable Conference were by the King, who, addressing himself to the Minister, said, "To-morrow is Sunday, when the Resident does not transact Business, but go to him on Monday and settle all these Affairs completely."

Lucknow Residency,
4th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 37.

No. 37.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 5th August 1832.

REPORTS the Substance of a Part of the King's Conference with the Resident (omitted in the last Dispatch) respecting his Majesty's Proposal to send the Minister out into the Country, for the Settlement of the Revenue; states that the Resident brought to the King's Notice the superior Qualifications of the Minister for the Improvement of the Country; states also that the Resident has confined himself to earnest Advice to avert the impending Calamity, considering this Course to be binding upon him by the Tenor of his Instructions; and communicates his Fears that the present Cabal may induce the King to remove the Minister from his high Office, a Circumstance most mortifying to the Resident, as being likely to be ruinous to the Country.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 38.

No. 38.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated Sunday 5th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

ON looking over the Minute of my Yesterday's Conference with the King, I find that I omitted one Particular of some Importance, and which I accordingly now think it proper to relate.

2. His Majesty, before the Minister was admitted into the private Apartment, asked me the following Question:

The King.—Do you recollect that the Minister several Times proposed, some Months since, to be allowed to go out to the Country to make some Revenue Settlement.

Major Low.—I do recollect it, and I also remember that your Majesty would not allow it; you said that you could not spare him from your Presence.

The King.—Yes, I did object then, but I don't now; I think it is the best thing that can be done; and I request you to write to the Governor General that I send him by your Advice.

Major Low.—No, I will not write any thing of the Kind. I must be candid with you: I fear from what has passed during the last Two Days, and even within the last Half Hour, that you have some Thoughts of detaching your Minister in such a Way as to prevent the Possibility of his doing any Good. I entreat you to reflect more deeply on the present State of Affairs, and on the future Prosperity of your Country.

The King.—Don't think that I am going to do any thing wrong. I will send him to Durshim Sing's Talook, to settle the Disturbances there. You make no Objections.

Major Low.—I make no Objections whatever; you have a full Right to send out your Minister on Public Business whenever you please.

The King.—That is right; that is quite right.

The above Dialogue took place a very few Minutes before I called the Minister into the private Apartment, as described in my Dispatch of Yesterday's Date.

3. I may also mention, that at the Conference of Yesterday, as well as the former one, I stated to the King my entire Conviction, and equally so of the Governor General of India, that there is not one Man now to be found in Oude so capable as Montuzim ood Dowlah of improving this Government, and by doing so of rendering the King himself prosperous and happy.

4. From all I hear this Morning of the Proceedings late last Night of a Junta of new Councillors whom the King has taken into favour, I greatly fear that they may succeed in persuading their weak and unfeeling Sovereign either to eject the present Minister from his high Office, or to compel him (by treating him with Indignity) to resign, either of which will be most

No. 38. unworthy Conduct on the Part of the King, and will be followed, I feel
(continued.) certain, by most injurious Consequences to his Country, but I conceive that the Footing on which our Relations at present stand with the State of Oude renders it binding upon me to be careful that my Endeavours to avert those Evils shall be restricted to earnest Advice. Such at least is the Conclusion that I have arrived at during the last anxious Week, after full Consultation with my Assistant Lieutenant Paton, and a careful Perusal of all the Records in my Office which bear upon the Point in question.

5. I cannot express the Extent of my Mortification at the disheartening Change which seems now too likely to occur in the Management of the Oude Government and Territories.

Lucknow Residency,
Sunday, 5th Aug. 1832.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Low; Resident.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 39.

No. 39.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to G. SWINTON Esq. Chief Secretary to Government, dated 15th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM directed to transmit to you, for the Information of the Honourable the Vice President in Council, and forward, the enclosed Copy of a Letter addressed on this Date, under the Authority of the Right Honourable the Governor General, to the Resident at Lucknow, in reply to his Dispatches dated the 2d, 4th, and 5th Instant, together with Copy of the Translation of his Lordship's Letter to the King of Oude,

Shimla,
15th August 1832.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 40.

No. 40.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to His Majesty the KING of OUDE, written 15th August. (Received 5th June 1833.)

After Compliments.

It was with the deepest Concern I Yesterday received from Major Low an Account of the unfortunate Estrangement which has taken place between your Majesty and your Prime Minister, the Nawab Moontuzim-ood-Dowlah.

On a very recent Occasion I expressed the unfeigned Gratification I had experienced at learning the Improvement which had been introduced throughout all Departments of your Majesty's Country, by means of the zealous and unremitting Efforts of that able and distinguished Individual. It was only the other Day, too, that my Gratification was enhanced by the Receipt of a Letter from you containing the following Observations :—

“ What your Lordship has stated (as communicated to me by Major Low) in
“ approbation of the Prudence, Activity, Integrity, and Fidelity of the above-
“ named Newaub, and also of the satisfactory Arrangements made by him, has
“ been considered as a Token of your Lordship's discerning Kindness and Consi-
“ deration for him. Indeed, what has been done by the Hands of this Minister
“ in so short a Period, will continue to be remembered for a long Time, and
“ must tend to preserve the good Order and Tranquillity of this Country, and
“ contribute to the Happiness of both Governments, and also secure the Welfare
“ and Prosperity of my Subjects. If I, who am an Eye-witness of his Conduct
“ and Services, as well as of the Diligence and Activity with which he has, in so

"short a Time, suppressed the Anarchy and Misrule which prevailed in this Country for many Years during the Management of the former Ministers, and introduced Peace and Tranquillity in their Stead, were to extol his Praises a Thousand-fold, it would only be just and reasonable, and God be praised that his Merits have been as well appreciated by your Lordship as by myself."

I had hoped from this that your Majesty appreciated as fully as I was induced to do the Merits of your Prime Minister's Administration; but now I have Reason to fear that some Circumstance has occurred to deprive him of your Favour, though I cannot distinctly ascertain, from the Communications I have received, to what Cause this unexpected Result is attributable.

Your Majesty is well aware how scrupulously I abstained from interfering in the slightest Degree with your Choice of a Minister. You are also aware that when I had the Happiness of seeing and conversing with you at your Capital last Year I declined Compliance with your Proposal that I should confer a Khilaat on the Nawaub Moontezim-ood-Dowlah, being apprehensive that this Mark of Distinction from me might in the Eyes of the World be taken as an Indication that the Selection of the principal Adviser had not been the unbiassed Act of your Majesty, and that it had been brought about in some measure by the Influence of the British Authorities.

Your Majesty cannot have forgotten how earnestly I exhorted and how solemnly I warned you of the Consequences which must infallibly follow a Continuance of Misrule. The Accounts which I had subsequently received from the Resident gave me the most cheering Assurances of the increasing Prosperity of your Majesty's Dominions, and tended to remove from my Mind all Apprehension of the Necessity (which I had at One Time looked upon as being nearly inevitable) of resorting to a Measure which would have been no less painful to my Feelings than derogatory to the Dignity of your Majesty. This happy Change in the Circumstances of your Country I was led to ascribe to the Zeal and Integrity of your present Minister, and I had subsequently resolved on my approaching Visit to Lucknow to confer upon that Personage the Mark of Distinction originally suggested by you, and otherwise to honour him with my special Regard.

Sincerely as I must regret the unfortunate Estrangement which has taken place, anxiously as I shall expect Intelligence of a Reconciliation, and deeply as I should deplore such an Event as the Removal of this able Minister from your Majesty's Councils, I do not, even now, desire to interfere with your Determination, considering that the entire Responsibility of the Acts of the Oude Government rests with yourself.

It would become you, however, to weigh well the Consequences which will probably ensue should you be deprived of the Services of your present Minister. If, instead of the progressive Improvement which now appears to pervade all Departments of the Administration, the Affairs of the Country should relapse into their former degraded Condition, to your Majesty alone such lamentable Consequences will be attributed.

I do not use the strong Language of Remonstrance without manifest Occasion. On former Occasions the Language of Expostulation has been frequently used towards you with reference to the Abuses of your Government and as yet nothing serious has befallen you. I beseech you, however, not to suffer yourself to be deceived with a false Security. I might adduce sufficient Proof that such Security would be fallacious, but I am unwilling to wound your Majesty's Feelings; while the sincere Friendship I entertain for you prevents my withholding from you that Advice which I deem essential to the Preservation of your own Dignity and the Prosperity of your Kingdom.

(True Translation.)

(Signed)

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed)

W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed)

George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 41.

No. 41.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated 15th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge the Receipt of your Two Letters dated respectively the 2d and 4th Instant, reporting the Estrangement which has taken place between the King of Oude and his Prime Minister, Moontuzim ood Dowlah Mehdr Ali Khan.

2. His Lordship entertains a confident Hope that the prudent and conciliatory Demeanour which you have already displayed will prevent this unfortunate Disagreement from terminating in a final Separation, as he could not but consider such an Event as a Calamity to the Country, the Improvement of which that able Minister appears to have been labouring so zealously and so successfully to effect.

3. The Concern which his Lordship sincerely feels on this Occasion has been declared at some Length in the accompanying Letter, which you are requested to deliver to his Majesty. It will not fail to occur to you that the Allusion in the concluding Sentence of that Letter refers to Mysore. His Majesty has probably heard of our actual Assumption of the Government of that Country, and you will naturally avail yourself of this Topic to impress upon his Mind the Consequences which a similar State of Things must entail upon himself.

4. His Lordship cannot but apprehend the most calamitous Consequences to his Majesty should he be so rash and ill-judged as to divest himself of the Aid of his present able Minister; and although, in pursuance of the Principle of Non-interference with his Wishes hitherto acted upon, the Governor General could not directly oppose such an Intention, yet he considers it no more than an Act of Fairness and Friendship to advise his Majesty of the probable Consequences of its Fulfilment.

Shimla,
15th August 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

P.S. Since the above was written your Dispatch of the 5th Instant has been received. The View which you have therein taken of your Duty is quite correct and should the present Minister be removed his Lordship will have the Consolation of knowing that this unfortunate Result could not have been averted by any legitimate Efforts, however ably and judiciously directed.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 42.

No. 42.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated the 6th August 1832.

DESCRIBES the present Councillors of the King, who has had a Consultation with them respecting the Formation of a new Administration, and the Insult that was offered to the Minister's Feelings at Breakfast in the Palace. Describes the agitated State of the Public Mind. The Dismissal of the Commandant of Troops, a Nephew of the Minister. The Resident visits the King, who denies having deposed the Minister from Office. Relates the Resident's Conversation with the King. His Majesty announces his firm Resolve not to disgrace the Minister. The King attempts to induce the Resident to give a different Colour to his Conduct from the real one in relating these Events to Government. His Majesty taxes the Minister with taking the Five per Cent. Perquisite, contrary to his Promise. The King's Conversation on that Subject detailed. Reports a Conversation between the Resident and Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan, who said that

that he was made to swear to Two Circumstances detailed, and who made an offer of a Bribe on the King's Part to the Resident, who sends an indignant Answer to the King. Speculations by the Cabal on this Answer described. States the Resident's Intention of going to visit the King To-morrow by Invitation, and the Attempt made to prejudice the King's Mind against the Minister, who is ready to sacrifice his Life rather than be disgraced. Alludes to the hostile Position of the lately discharged Golundauzes against the Minister, who solicits the Protection of the Residency Chobdars. The Request not complied with by the Resident

No. 42.
(continued)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 43.

No. 43

LETTER from Major J. Low, to W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq., dated
6th August 1831. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to describe by Letter in a complete Manner all the childish and disreputable Scenes that have been passing in the King's Palace since Saturday Evening. I shall only endeavour to relate the principal Events from that Time to the present.

2. I find that on Saturday Evening the King collected around him in a private Apartment a new Set of Councillors, to whom he was lavish in Promises of future Favour.

3. The Chief of the Cabal above alluded to are Roshun ood dowlah, Moozuffer Allee Khan, and his Son Jaffer Allee Khan, Soobhaum Allee Khan, and Koonur Ruttim Sing. The little I have heard of Roshun ood Dowlah is not prejudicial to his Character; but the whole of the others are notoriously Men of disreputable Conduct through Life from all I have heard of them, while Mozuffer Allee Khan has long been a decided Enemy of the Minister, was the chief Instigator of the Mutiny among the Artillery-men, and is bitter against the Minister for having discharged the Mutineers. Most of those Men have Yesterday been re-enlisted, and are in attendance at the Palace; they are often walking around near the Minister's House, who is in consequence in dread of some personal Attack from them: but I am anticipating Events. I find that the King sat up great Part of Saturday Night in company with several of the Persons mentioned in the preceding Paragraph, discussing a Variety of Plans for a new Administration, while some of the Advisers were constantly urging him to maintain his Dignity (as they termed it) by throwing the Minister into Prison in the first instance. The ostensible Plea for this was the alleged Crime on the Part of the Minister of having in conversation applied some coarse Epithets to the King's Mother, and his Wife the Koodseeah Begum. The King, however, was ashamed to proceed to such Extremes, and no new Measures were adopted during Saturday Night.

4. On Sunday Morning, the Minister, not having received any Orders to the contrary, attended at the King's Breakfast Table, where the European Aides-de-Camp and the Native Courtiers attended as usual, with the Addition of several of the new Party mentioned in the 3d Para. of this Letter.

5. At this Breakfast Party the Minister was treated with studied Neglect in various Ways, which were described to me by the European Gentlemen present, but which it seems unnecessary to detail. One Particular, however, may be mentioned, which was not merely Neglect, but intended, I imagine, to insult the Feelings of the Nowab; viz. that, without having spoken One Word to the Nowab during the Meal, several Kelluts of Office were brought into the Room, and put down in a conspicuous Place, and a Whisper went through the Room that Roshun ood Dowlah would be forthwith invested with the Khellut of Prime Minister; that of Commandant of Troops to be given to Moozuffer Allee Khan, &c. &c.

6. It appears that the King himself became ashamed to go through the intended Ceremony, reflecting, I suppose, on his having pardoned the Minister in my Presence only Twenty-four Hours before, and he retired from the Breakfast Room without Khelluts upon any one. Immediately after he retired he

No. 43.
(continued.)

sent Orders to the Minister to go to his House, and not to leave it again; when general Orders were at the same Time promulgated, that no Public Servant of the Government, of whatever Rank, should enter the Minister's House. About Two o'Clock in the Afternoon (Sunday) Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan waited upon me with a Message from the King, to say that his Majesty was anxious to see me as soon as possible, and I agreed to go.

7. By this Time much Confusion prevailed in the City, and the Streets were greatly crowded, especially in the Neighbourhood of the Palace. All Order had been destroyed by the Reports spread in all Directions that the Minister and all his Officers (including the Police) had been displaced, and the Residency Newswriter reported to me one particular Affray in which Three Lives had been lost. The Commandant of the Troops (a Nephew of the Minister's) had been publicly ordered to quit the Commandant's House, and had actually done so, and removed to one of his own in a distant Part of the City.

8. The King had thus displaced one Set of Public Officers, absolutely necessary for the Public Tranquillity, without having Sense enough to replace them by others; or at least he had destroyed the Efficiency of those Officers.

9. Under those Circumstances I began seriously to reflect whether it might not be necessary to order down some of the British Troops to preserve the Public Tranquillity; but on more mature Reflection I resolved first to go to the Palace, and to urge the King to take immediate Steps for the Tranquillity of the Capital; and I am happy to say, that although dense Crowds in the Streets prevailed up to this Afternoon, and several Affrays occurred, yet there is evidently no Necessity for my Interference as to the Safety of the City. During the last few Hours a Change for the better in that respect is evident, the new Commandant of the Troops having regularly taken the Command, though he has not yet received his Khillut of Office.

10. I proceeded to the Palace, and the first thing I did was to mention to the King the State of Confusion in the City, and to urge him, since he had done this Act of removing the Minister, to take other Steps for seeing Order restored.

11. To my Astonishment the King positively denied that he had deposed the Minister, and said, that on the contrary that only Half an Hour before my Arrival (in consequence of hearing that such Reports were abroad) he had sent public Orders to the Minister to issue all Purwannahs as usual; and so far from having already removed him, that he had not made up his Mind to remove him at all, and that he wished to take my Advice on the Subject; although, upon being cross-questioned, he admitted that he had removed the Commandant of the Troops, and that he had appointed Moozuffer Allee Khan to be his Successor, tho' he had not yet conferred the Killut.

12. I told the King that all this was really quite preposterous, and attended with most serious Evils. "Why," said I, "do you ask my Advice at all? You know that your Acts of the last few Days, and especially since Yesterday Morning, are totally contrary to my Opinions of what is best for your Welfare, and yet you go through the Farce of asking my Advice. Don't ask my Advice at all, for you do not follow it when I offer my Counsel. Do just as you please; they are your Affairs that are all going wrong; not mine."

The King.—But I entreat your Advice; I cannot stir without it. You have always professed yourself to be my Friend; are you going to desert me?

Major Low.—No, I will not desert you, if you will act with any thing like Consistency. It appears clear to me you have made up your Mind to remove the Minister from Office. If it be so I shall lament it on your Account; but if you have made up your Mind to remove him, do so in an open manly Manner; send for him; desire him to explain his Arrangements in the Country to his Successor, and then let him go away; that is the respectable Way of changing the Ministry.

The King.—Then you advise me to remove him, and only to send for him; such is not the Custom at this Court; but I'll do much to please you.

Major Low.—I beg you to listen to me attentively. *I do not advise you to remove him at all; I have only mentioned the sensible Mode of removing any Minister, if you have made up your Mind to do so.*

The King.—I have no Intention of removing him 'till there be Time to hear from the Governor General. At all events 'till that Time, the Minister is to carry on Business as before. I hear that you are Writing a great deal. I trust, if you are

are writing to the Governor General, that you are doing so in a Way to make him think favourably of me.

Major Low.—I will write precisely what is happening ; neither more nor less.

The King.—Will you be my true Friend, and tell me what the Governor General will think ?

Major Low.—He will think that your Majesty's Conduct for some Days past, and especially from Yesterday Morning 'till this Moment, has been quite childish, and he will view it with the deepest Regret.

The King.—But what will the Governor General say if I should propose to remove this Minister and to appoint another ?

Major Low.—I cannot answer for what another Man will say ; but I *think* he will say "Do as you please ; only recollect, that if your Country again be-comes a Scene of Confusion and Disorder you must not expect Favour from the British Government."

The King.—I will think of it ; I will think of it fully before doing any thing ; and you may depend upon One Thing, that if I do remove the Minister he shall not be personally molested ; he shall be allowed to go away in a completely honourable Manner, "Bazzuh-tamaun." That will please you, wont it ?

Major Low.—I entirely approve of that one Point, certainly, if you do remove the Minister ; indeed were it to happen otherwise it would in my Opinion reflect permanent and serious Injury on your Majesty's Reputation.

13. A desultory Conversation now took place which it does not seem necessary to detail, especially as I have this Day written a long Letter, which will be sent to his Majesty in an Hour or Two ; and the Perusal of that Letter (Copy of which shall be forwarded to you To-morrow) and this Dispatch together will show the Governor General every thing material that has passed since the 4th Instant.

14. The great Struggle all along on the Part of the King, and often repeated, has been to persuade me to put a different Colour upon his Follies from the true one, in my Reports to the British Government, and to endeavour to entrap me into saying that I approve of or that I advise his present Proceedings ; in which Attempt his Majesty of course entirely failed, and he has been in consequence extremely puzzled how to act. There is only one Point more that seems worthy of being mentioned respecting Yesterday's Conference.

15. The King said, that after he authorized the Minister to deduct Five per Cent. from the Revenues as his personal Salary, the latter had promised to reserve it all for the King, and that the Minister had not performed this Promise. My Answer was as follows :—

Major Low.—I suspect that you are mistaken. I always heard that the Minister has been laying out that Money on the Canal and other public Purposes ; indeed I have heard your Majesty yourself say, but a few Weeks ago, that the Minister had taken no Reward whatsoever for all his Labours.

The King.—But I know now that he has not brought all that Money to my Account.

Major Low.—Then why do not you inquire into it ? I have no Doubt that the Minister wishes Inquiry ; he told you so Yesterday ; and the greatest Fault that I have to find with your Proceedings throughout this Business is, that you listen to all Sorts of Accusations against the Minister, and you give him no Opportunity for Explanation.

16. The Conference ended by the King's saying, that he would not listen to the Minister's Enemies, and that he would not do any thing harsh or unjust ; "that" (said he) "is quite contrary to my Disposition ; you may set your Mind at rest on that Score."

17. Late Yesterday Evening Tajoodeen-Hoosain Khan waited upon me, by Desire of the King. He commenced by saying, that he had been sent for to the Palace some Hours before, when the King, in the Presence of his new Advisers, ordered a Koran to be placed in his Hands, when he was desired to answer Two Questions on Oath. The first was, whether he had ever heard the Minister abuse the Padshah Begum ; the second, whether he really believed that the Resident was disposed to be his Majesty's Friend.

18. Tajoodeen stated to me that his Answers were as follow : First, that he had never heard the Minister abuse the King's Mother, and next that he was convinced that the Resident was a sincere Friend to his Majesty. Tajoodeen said that the first Answer produced a violent Uproar, several of the Party

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(continued.)

declaring that he was the Minister's Friend, and not the King's, and that he had been bribed by the Nowab, but that this subsided in Time, and that at last, after long Consultation with the different Members of the new Cabal, sometimes together and sometimes separately, the King gave Orders to Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan to go off to the Residency with the Message to me which he now proceeded to deliver.

19. Tajoodeen appeared a little embarrassed, and begged me to excuse him individually for giving me so much Trouble, explaining to me that he was in a very dangerous Position, for that if he were not to deliver the Message he received the King would ruin him. I desired him to say whatever he liked without Fear.

20. He then began by saying, that the King was hurt at my Language in the Forenoon, when I said that his Conduct was childish.

Major Low.—Then why did he ask my candid Opinion? I am a plain Military Man, and I am in habits of giving plain Answers to plain Questions; but I meant no Offence personally to the King, and you may tell him so from me. I would not have said what I did if his Majesty had not asked my Opinion as to what the Governor General would think.

Tajoodeen.—I have already told him so; and I mentioned, in Illustration of my Opinion, that you would not have complied with the King's Request to eat some Fruit, as you did just before you came away, if you meant to annoy him personally.

21. It soon appeared that the above little Dialogue was commenced by Tajoodeen merely to give him Time to reflect how he might best introduce the real Object of this Visit. At last he stated as follows: That he had been desired by the King to fall down at my Feet, if necessary, and to entreat me to send for the Nowab to the Residency, and to dismiss him from the King's Services; and further, that I would accept Twenty-five Lacs of Rupees from his Majesty in any Shape I liked, Hoondies or Company's Paper, &c.

22. I kept my Temper perfectly on this Occasion with Tajoodeen, who could hardly act otherwise than he was doing; I however rose immediately from my Seat (which of course compelled him to rise also), and I desired him to go back instantly to his Master, and deliver the following Reply; viz. that if the King were to offer me Twenty-five Crores I would not comply with his Request, and if he ever made another Proposal to me to receive Money on any Pretence that all Feeling of Regard for him would cease from that Moment, and might even prevent my being able to be civil to him. "As it is," I added, "I am much disgusted at finding that the King does not seem to know what an honest Man is."

23. Tajoodeen went off to the Palace immediately, and waited upon me again this Forenoon, and said that he was nearly being imprisoned last Night on delivering my Message, as the King was much enraged, and could not believe it to be correctly reported, and taxed him also with not having delivered the Message to me in a proper Manner. Some of the new Advisers are stated to have declared their Belief that I must already have been bribed by the Nuwab, while others insisted upon it that Tajoodeen himself had been bribed by the Minister, and that my Answer could not have been such as was represented. Tajoodeen said that he got rid of the Clamour against him, and escaped the Danger of being punished, by coolly saying, "Here I am; keep me a Prisoner here so that I cannot communicate with any one, and send off one of these very wise Men (who pretend to know so well) to the Bura Saheb with the same Message that you desired me to deliver, and you will see what Answer he will get; you will then know whether I am speaking Truth or Falsehood."

24. The above are disgusting Details, but I think it right to report them, in order to give the Governor General a correct Idea of the Characters of the Men by whom the King is at present guided.

25. I know nothing more To-day worthy of being reported, excepting that I am invited to go again to the Palace To-morrow. I do not think it would be proper in the British Representative at this Court to refuse to visit the King, and I have therefore accepted the Invitation, but I regret much that I have been asked, and I shall go with great Reluctance, for I am now convinced that Advice can be of no Utility. When I am actually with the King he restricts himself to mild Terms in speaking of the Minister, but at all other

Times

Times I understand he gives way to the most violent Invective. His weak Mind is constantly worked upon by self-interested People, who have persuaded him that the Minister has aimed at being thought the Sovereign of the Country; and they flatter him, with unremitting Diligence, into the Notion that he is quite capable of managing every thing himself; they are also extremely anxious that the Minister should not get a Hearing, for they fear that he might thus regain his Influence, and they have accordingly frequently urged the Expediency of throwing the Minister into close Confinement, and with Irons on his Legs, telling his Majesty that that is the only Way to show the Power and Dignity of a King; and I understand that the King has often within the last Forty-eight Hours been on the Point of ordering the old Man into Prison, but that he has been restrained, partly by thinking that I should view such a Measure with extreme Disgust, which he fears might expose himself to Inconvenience, and I give him Credit also for feeling occasional Returns of kind Disposition towards an old Man who has served him so zealously, and to whom he certainly had at one Time as sincere an Attachment as he is capable of feeling towards any one; but I can't consider it yet certain the Nowab will escape Degradation; he dreads it extremely himself, and is sitting with a loaded Pistol by him, ready to put an end to himself if personally degraded.

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(continued.)

26. From all I hear I am now nearly convinced that the King will not order any Insult to be offered to Moontuzumoo Dowlah, but in such a Scene he runs no small Risks from the vindictive Feelings of others, especially of many Artillery Men, formerly discharged, and Yesterday restored to the King's Service, and who are prowling about the Nawab's House, fully armed, with the Intent of vexing and alarming him at least, and undoubtedly they would put him to Death if they dared.

27. In this State of Apprehension the Minister has sent repeated Entreaties to me that I would send some Residency Chobdars and Chuprassees to protect him. I have reluctantly felt compelled to decline Compliance with these earnest and natural Entreaties from him, being convinced as I am that any direct Interference for his Protection might lead to many Embarrassments, and would be contrary to the Wishes of the Right Honourable the Governor General.

Lucknow Residency,
6th August 1832.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 44.

No. 44.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to Mr. Secretary MACNAGHTEN, dated the 8th August 1832.

REPORTS, that, owing to Indisposition, the Resident did not pay the intended Visit to his Majesty, who himself came to see the Resident. Notices the Considerations which induced the Resident to require the Presence of Lieutenant Paton at this Conference. Records the King's Conversation respecting his Majesty assuming the Management of the Government himself, assigning the executive Part to subordinate Officers. The Resident directs Tajooddeen to retire, for the Reasons stated. Allusion made during the Discourse which then took place to the Interference of the British Government, and to his Majesty's Answer. Advert to the King's Allusion of the Nowab having Accounts to render for large Sums of Money, and to the Resident's Answer, and Advice on the Subject. The King's Dialogue further continued in vindication of the Charge of not following the Resident's Advice. States that the Resident sent the Letter which had been prepared for the King at his Majesty's Request. Consideration for addressing that Letter. Reports the Permission granted to the Minister to retire to his House, and his Request to be allowed to rent one of the late Moatumud ood Dowlah's Houses not complied with by the Resident. Alludes to the highly creditable Conduct of the Nowab in not depriving any Person of his House in Lucknow during the Time he has been at the Head of Affairs.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 45.

No. 45.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
Wednesday 8th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

My last Dispatch to your Address was dated on Monday Night; but so much of the Treasury and other current Business of this Office was in arrears, owing to the Events of last Week, that it was not in my Power to address you Yesterday.

2. Tajooden waited upon me Yesterday, with the View of attending me to the Palace, according to the Invitation of the preceding Day. I was unwell, and although it was only to a trifling Degree, I availed myself of the Fact to send an Excuse to the King, saying, that if necessary I would visit him on the following Day.

3. Tajooden went back to the Palace with that Message, and in Half an Hour afterwards returned, saying the King had ordered his Gonjon, and was by this Time close to the Residency Gate on his Way to pay me a friendly Visit, in consequence of my having a Headache, which had been reported to him.

4. I would much have preferred that before again seeing the King he should have perused my Letter, and I was in the Act of finally reading it over, and just about to sign and dispatch it to the Palace, when this unexpected Visit was announced to me.

5. Suspecting that the King would renew his preposterous Habit throughout this Affair, of first asking my Advice, and then paying little or no Attention to it, I immediately ordered the Assistant, Lieutenant Paton, to be present during the Visit. My Object for doing so was this: I was desirous that a Third Person should be present, because there is no Reliance to be placed on the King's Word, and because hitherto I had not written any of my Opinions on the Matter lately under Discussion, and neither had any Third Person been present to hear the Tenor of my Advice to the King when he asked it, so that he might at some future Time affect not to recollect what I had said on this important Subject.

6. The King was attended on this Occasion by Tajooden Hoosain Khan, who stood behind his Chair.

7. After a few complimentary Inquiries after my Health, his Majesty looked towards Lieutenant Paton, and then at me, with an Expression of Countenance evidently indicating a Wish that I should request the Assistant to retire.

8. I accordingly explained in a few Words to the King, that Lieutenant Paton enjoys my entire Confidence, that he is fully acquainted with all that passes in this Office, and that also he is an old Friend of the King himself, and that his Majesty might therefore speak as freely and confidentially now as at any Time, if he wished to converse on Public Business. His Majesty (in a perfectly good-natured Manner) said, "Very well;" and after some little Hesitation, and a short Whisper to Tajooden, he proceeded to pronounce a short Speech in rather a loud Voice, and in a Manner which gave the Impression, both to Lieutenant Paton and myself, that he had come fully prepared with it. It was as follows:—

The King.—I have now made up my Mind to transact the Business of my own Government without having any Minister at all.

Major Low.—I have told you many Times during the last few Days that your Majesty is entirely at liberty to do so if you please; and I now tell you so again. This is a much more sensible Communication than your late ones, in which you always asked my Advice, and never followed it.

The King.—Do not say that I always wished your Advice. I expect you to continue to counsel me at all Times. I am fit for any Kind of Business, and, with your constant Assistance, you will see that every thing will go on right.

Major Low.—You shall always be welcome to my Counsel when I am asked for it, but as for my "constant Assistance" that is impossible; I am continually employed in the Company's Business. The Business of your Government must be done by yourself, or by your Servants. You have no just Conception, I fear, of the Labour of managing the Details of this Government; even that Part of it

connected

connected with this Residency requires daily Writing and daily verbal Discussions, besides the more laborious Business of receiving all Reports from the Country, and giving Orders upon them. No. 45. (continued.)

9. The King here repeated that he was very fit for all Sorts of Business ; but, as he seemed at a loss for a proper Answer to my last Observation, Tajoodeen came into his Assistance, and spoke as follows :—

Tajoodeen.—His Majesty does not intend to do all the Business with his own Hand ; he has settled this Morning that he is going to appoint Four or Five different Officers, and they are to be superintended by his Majesty himself ; they are all to come daily to him with their Reports, and receive their Orders. Then, addressing himself to the King, he added, “Am I right, my Master?”

The King.—Yes, right ; that is the Plan I have formed.

10. I here requested Tajoodeen to retire for a little, and explained to the King my Reason for so doing ; namely, that I wished to say a few Words to him, which it seemed more delicate to avoid saying in the Presence of his Servant, and I proceeded as follows :—

Major Low.—I have nothing more to say, my good Friend, about Mootuzimoo Dowlah ; nor would I have ever said any thing, formerly, had you not asked my Advice about him. What I mean now to say is, to caution you to be more careful in your new Plans than appears to be the Case from Tajoodeen’s Description. I dread lest Four or Five Officers, all independent of each other, may throw your Affairs into Confusion ; and the Reason I now sent Tajoodeen out of the Room was that I wish to remind you once more, in the Presence of Lieutenant Paton, of what the Governor General told you would occur if your Country should unfortunately fall into Disorder, and therefore entreat you to be most careful in your Selection of Instruments, for much will depend upon their Characters and Abilities.

11. I was going on to the Effect that it would be a lamentable Circumstance, after such Improvements had been made during the last Twelve Months in Oude, if the British Government should find it necessary to interfere ; but the King showed that he had come quite prepared for an Allusion to this Matter, for he interrupted me as follows :—

The King.—The Governor General will not interfere, I suppose, unless there be actually Disorder in my Kingdom.

Major Low.—Certainly, if your Kingdom be managed properly the Governor General will not interfere.

The King.—Then set your Mind at rest on that Subject.

Major Low.—Very well ; I need not say any thing more ; the Responsibility is with you, and I have now, as before, fully explained it to you. If you had not come here To-day I should before now have sent you a long Letter on this Subject ; it is actually ready for Signature, but I suppose I need not now send it ?

The King.—By all means send the Letter ; it is very proper to do so ; and you will see that I will answer it satisfactorily.

Major Low.—Very well ; I will send it to your Majesty in Half an Hour hence.

12. The King now announced to me that he had determined to issue Orders that very Day to his People to allow Moontuzimoo Dowlah to depart with all Honour and Comfort ; that he should not be molested in any way, and that he should be allowed either to go to his House in the City, or to his Garden in the Country. I said that I thought that his Majesty would act most properly in so doing ; and I added, “I trust, for the sake of your good Name, that you will not only give those Orders, but that you will see them obeyed.”

13. The King here suddenly seemed desirous of entrapping me into some awkward Responsibility, by addressing me to the following Effect :—

The King.—Well, I will send out the Hukeem To-morrow or this very Day. There are large unsettled Accounts between us ; there may be Difficulties if he go to the Garden ; but you will of course see that every thing shall be properly settled.

Major Low.—I have nothing whatever to do with the Minister’s Accounts or with yours. It is you who talk of sending him out to the Garden, and not me. I only approved of your having said that you would treat him honourably, and not allow him to be personally molested or insulted. I have nothing to do with his Place of Residence, nor with his Accounts ; that is your Business.

The King.—Then you will not assist me in that Matter.

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(continued.)

Major Low.—No, not at all. I only hope, for the sake of your own Reputation, that you will not permit any of the wicked Men in your Palace to do any thing unfair; such Conduct has occurred before now in this Place. For Instance, your People might plunder his Papers, and thus deprive him of the Means of rendering a just Account. But the whole Responsibility of the Affair is with you; I have nothing to do with it.

14. Nothing more passed at this Conference, excepting that the King again addressed me, after we had risen from our Seats, and said,

The King.—I am grieved to see that your Manner is not so cordial towards me as it used to be. You have repeatedly said during the last few Days that I ask your Opinion and act otherwise. You are mistaken, my dear Friend; for instance, but for your Opinion "the Hukeem" would now have been in Chains, and all his Property seized. Several People urged me to this; and have I done it? No. You will hear To-day what Orders I will issue about him. He has abused my Mother; for other Things I should not care so much, but for that Reason I can never see him again; but I am not a cruel Man.

Major Low.—I believe you are not, but you are surrounded by wicked Men at present, and they overturn your good Intentions constantly. Do you recollect that you told the Nawab on Saturday Morning that you had pardoned him, and that you had told me that he was to attend me on Monday on Business; and do you recollect what happened on Sunday? Those wicked Men now about you, my good Friend, seem to turn and twist you as they please. As long as they shall be with you all Day long, as they have been lately, I shall only be able to understand your Plans after they are executed.

The King.—No, no, my Friend; I will not be so guided; you shall hear very soon that I am not to be guided in that Manner.

15. The King then returned to his Palace, and nothing more occurred on Tuesday, excepting that in the Afternoon I sent the Letter to him which was intended to have been delivered in the Morning, as referred to in a prior Part of this Dispatch, and along with it I sent a Note explanatory of the Cause of the Delay in forwarding the Letter. In sending this written Exposition of my Opinions as to the present State of Affairs, and of my Apprehension as to the future probable Condition of Oude, I had scarcely any Hope of doing Good; but it seemed to me proper to avail myself of every Chance, however slight, that might exist of bringing his Majesty to reflect seriously upon the Risk he was incurring of Evils to his Country from his Conduct; and this was the more desirable, as all that had passed hitherto had been verbal, and it seemed important to prevent the Risk of the King afterwards affecting to say that he was not fully warned of the Dangers awaiting him if his Country should again fall into a State of Anarchy and Disorder. Besides these Considerations, the King had expressly requested that I would send him the Letter.

16. Nothing more occurred Yesterday of any Consequence. The Minister was not permitted to quit the Palace, nor was any new Minister appointed. This Day, however, the Nawab has received written Permission to depart, in which he was told that he might either go to his old House in the City, or to his new Garden, at some Miles distant, if he pleased. He expressed his Readiness to depart, and immediately sent to the King a List of the Hackeries and Bearers that would be necessary. They have, I understand, been ordered.

17. The Nowab this Forenoon sent a Message to me to say that the Garden did not contain any Building suitable to his Family, and that his House in the City was old and small, and in bad Repair, and that he therefore begged me to allow him to hire one of the late Mootumud-oo-Dowlah's Houses, now under my Charge. It is a remarkable Fact, and a highly creditable one to the Nowab, and totally unlike preceding Ministers, that although he has been upwards of Two Years in Office he has not possessed himself of a single Building in this City; the only one he possesses has been his Property for Thirty Years, and he has made no Alterations to it.

18. In regard to the Nowab's Request to occupy one of the Houses now under my Charge, as they are at present under a separate Jurisdiction from that of the King, I thought that my Compliance with it might give an Appearance of my having a Sort of Party Feeling in this Affair, which would be very objectionable, and I therefore declined. I most sincerely sympathize with Moontuzimoo Dowlah on this Occasion, for I think him a very highly meritorious Public Officer, and that he has been shamefully used by an ungrateful

grateful Master; but, as the British Representative at this Court, I considered that it would be wrong to admit a Person no longer in the King's Service, and situated as he is now, into one of the Buildings under my direct Jurisdiction.

19. I shall address a final Report to you on these Events To-morrow or next Day.

No. 45.
(continued.)

I have &c.

Lucknow Residency,
Wednesday, 8th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 46.

No. 46.

LETTER from Major J. Low to his Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated 7th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

FEELING a sincere Desire for your Majesty's Welfare, and for your Prosperity and Reputation as King of Oude, I have shown that I am your Friend by the good Advice that I have given at the late private Conferences; and being very apprehensive of the bad Consequences which may result to this State, and to your Majesty personally, should you persevere in surrendering your Judgment into the Hands of Women and interested Individuals, I have determined more fully to discharge the Duty of Friendship, and thus, in addition to verbal Advice, to write this Letter to you, in order that hereafter, should Troubles and Evils arise from your present Measures, you may remember that at least the Resident stood your Friend, and urged you to pause before discharging a faithful Servant and Minister, and committing the Counsels and Power of your Government into the Hands of unfit Men, and of Females, who can never be fit for such Duties.

In the Spirit of Friendship I entreat you to reflect whether it is creditable to be guided in such a serious Matter by Women and Intriguers; and if the Governor General shall hear that the King of Oude is led captive by Women, and induced to reward the Zeal and Services of an old Minister by unmerited Disgrace, what will he think? and with what Indignation will he view those selfish Intriguers, who, heedless about your good Name, would expose your Majesty to the Stigma of such Proceedings. Hitherto every Request you have made to the British Government has been complied with since I came here; why? because I was enabled to praise your Conduct; but how can I in future praise you if you act as you are now doing? It is impossible; I am your Friend, but I am a Man of Honour; I will not write Falsehoods to my Government; I will give my real Opinions at all Times, and give it true Accounts of what is passing here. You now say that you are thinking of removing the present Minister from his Office, and at the same Time you ask my Advice; I therefore entreat you to stop a little; to reflect deeply on this Matter. Ask your own Conscience this Question; viz. Is it Zeal for your Majesty's Prosperity, and for the good Government of your Country, which urges those Intriguers in their Endeavours to enslave your Judgment, and make you subservient to their own Views? No; they are not Friends; they are selfish Men, and Flatterers; they care not about your real Prosperity or good Name. All sensible and disinterested Men are convinced, that although Moontuzim oo Dowlah may have some Faults, still that he has done more for your Prosperity than any Minister at this Place for a long Series of Years.

If he has erred he has already been punished by your Majesty's Displeasure, and he has thrown himself at your Feet and asked Pardon; and, before my Face, on Saturday last, you openly said that you pardoned him; and this was generous and proper.

Hitherto you have acted like a King, as far as the Governor General knows; you have shown to all your People that your Authority is supreme, and you have also evinced Generosity, by proving, that although you found it necessary to check the Faults and Failings of an old Man, still that you have appreciated his disinterested Public Service as your Minister in the Execution of your Majesty's Plans for the Government of your Country. If you were only now to order for the future such Changes in his Proceedings as you please your Orders would doubtless be strictly obeyed, and all would go well. When you

No. 46.
(continued.)

said, "I pardon you," to the Minister on Saturday, you acted like a generous Prince. For the old Man, who expressed himself as your Servant and Slave, and who, in public before the Durbar, and in Presence of the European Society at your Entertainments, has shown the most profound Respect by embracing even your Majesty's Feet, surely it is foreign to your Feelings and Judgment to heap Sorrows and Disgrace upon the grey Hairs of this old Man, who, in his Overzeal to serve you, has neglected to make a single Friend for himself for such a Day of Adversity. He trusted to your Majesty alone as his Sovereign and Friend.

I wrote to the Governor General on Saturday, after you breakfasted with me, all that passed in my private Room; I told him what you told me; viz., that you were going to send the Newab out into the Country to settle the Disturbances, and that you had pardoned him. What will the Governor General now think of your Word if you remove the Minister from his Office without One Word of Inquiry? For your own sake do reflect on this, and act with Wisdom and Justice. Let me mention another Point for your Consideration: What will the Governor General think of your Consistency or your Sense, if you now remove from a high and most important Office a Man whom only Eight Days since you praised in the strongest Terms for his Zeal and Talents and eminent Public Services, and all this in a Letter from yourself to the Governor General.

Recollect, that you have asked my Advice, and that in all this Matter all that I say and write is only Advice. The Power is in your own Hands; do as you please; I will not interfere. But remember also, that though you have the Power there is attached to that Power a deep Responsibility, the Extent and fearful Consequences of which are set forth in the Governor General's private Memorandum of his Conferences with you, written by Mr. Secretary Prinsep. If Mismanagement in this Country again occurs you will be ruined. The Governor General has told you so plainly. The Governor General did not treat you in the Way that you are now treating your Minister; his Lordship, like a just Ruler, resolved to listen to what you and your Minister had to say, and he gave you a Trial, although serious Faults had been committed. You have not told the Minister One Word of the Faults he may have committed; you have not heard One Word that he has to say. This is not Justice; it is great Injustice, and is not becoming Conduct for a great King. Distich.—"He is a true Friend "who points out the Errors of his Friend." In this Spirit I now tell you, that in my Opinion the wisest Thing you can now do will be to send for the Minister, and hear patiently his Defence, and then to act with Justice, and tell him your Determination in an open Manner. I think you will find that his Faults have been very small, and that his past Services have been so important that he is deserving of your Pardon for this Time. But if unfortunately you are determined to remove the Minister, why not do it in an open Manner, and then let him go away quietly and peaceably? That is the respectable Way of changing a Minister, and not the strange Proceedings of the last two Days; viz. keeping him to his own House, and preventing any Person from speaking to him. This shows that your present Advisers are ashamed of their own Conduct, and therefore they do not allow him to approach you.

But recollect I do not advise you to remove the Minister at all, for I do not think there is one Man in your Kingdom so capable as he is of improving your Government and Revenues, and I greatly fear that if you do remove him very serious Confusion will arise in your Country. Indeed, owing to the strange Proceedings of the last Eight Days, some Irregularities have already occurred, and much important Company's Business is totally at a Stand. I cannot conceal these Things from the Governor General.

Recollect, too, that something must be done immediately to quell the Disturbances in Durshim Sing's Talooka, which are injuring the Company's Interests near Allahabad. But I repeat that I am only giving Advice; you may do as you please, and if Misfortune afterwards be the Consequence, do not blame me.

There is One Point more on which I wish to say a few Words to you. If you do resolve (contrary to my Opinion of what is best for your Interest) not to see the Minister again, I trust, for the sake of your Reputation and Character, that you will adhere religiously to the Assurance which you voluntarily made to me on Sunday; viz., that if you should make up your Mind

to remove Moontuzim oo Dowlah from Office, you would never allow any personal Disgrace to be inflicted on him; you declared that he should be allowed to go away from Lucknow with Honour and Comfort: "Buizzutitamaun;" those were your Majesty's Words. A King will never depart from his Word, for that would be disgraceful.

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(continued.)

Lastly, I think it right, before finishing this Letter, to enclose an Extract from the Governor General's Minute of Conference with you, to remind you of what is hanging over you, if your Country should fall again into Disorder. An Answer may daily be expected from England to what his Lordship wrote about this Kingdom; and I entreat you, once more, before you do any thing in this important Affair, to recollect that if the British Government be not satisfied with the Management of your Country you will be ruined and disgraced. May God grant that this may be averted by your good Sense on this Occasion.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

EXTRACT from a Minute of the Conference between the Governor General and the King of Oude which took place on the 20th of January 1831.

"It is in truth my Opinion that the Disorders and Mismanagement prevailing in Oudh have reached that Point that to leave them longer without an Effort and Exertion for Reform would reflect Discredit on the British Government. I am thence compelled to state this Opinion, with all the Particulars I have ascertained as to the existing State of Things, fully and freely to the Authorities in England, in order to solicit their Instructions for the Guidance of my future Conduct towards your Excellency as the Sovereign of Oude; I further shall be compelled to add this as my Advice and Recommendation; viz., that Matters have now come to that Pass that in the event of Improvement and Reformation not being effected by your Majesty's Officers the Settlement of the Country will need to be made by British Officers.

"There are parallel Cases to the present State of Things in Oude to be found in the History of India, from which your Majesty may take example; for both in Hindoostan and in the Deckhm, wherever the Country of Rulers bound to the British Government by Treaty has been taken possession of directly, the Act of Aggression on our Part has always been justified upon the Ground of the Disorders which prevailed, and the Unfitness of the Native Governors to conduct Affairs, and their Failure to establish a proper systematic Government, that should be a Source of Happiness and Contentment to the People. The Stories of Bengal and Benares, of Arcot and Tanjore, are all of this Description. May God avert that this Kingdom of Oude, which excels all other Parts of Hindoostan in its Soil and Fitness for Agriculture, and for the Production of all created Things, should, thro' the Inattention of the ruling Authority, and more especially during the Government and in the Lifetime of your Majesty, come to such a State of Ruin and Impoverishment as to render necessary the extreme Measure for its Recovery which I have hinted above."

(A true Abstract.)

(Signed)

J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from Major J. Low to his Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated 7th August 1832.

THE Letter now enclosed was written last Night, and was ready for my Signature when your Majesty did me the Honour suddenly to come and see me this Morning. Affairs are so far changed since the enclosed Letter was written that you this Morning announced in Presence of Lieutenant Paton, that you had made up your Mind in future to transact your own Business without any Minister; but you have formed so many different Plans within the last few Days that I know not yet that your Mind is entirely fixed on any Plan, and I therefore think it right still to send you the enclosed Letter, (although I have seen you since I wrote it,) because it contains my deliberate Sentiments on this important Affair; and I therefore entreat your Majesty to give my Letter a very attentive Perusal. It is only because I feel so much interested

No. 46. about your Welfare that I have taken the Trouble to write so long a Letter. I
(continued.) can lose nothing, whether you get a good or a bad Name as to Justice and
Wisdom; and in like Manner it is you that will be the Sufferer if your Country
be not properly managed, and not me. If it happen, I shall only lament it as
your sincere Friend.

(True Copy.)

(Signed)

J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed)

Geo. Swinton,

Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 47.

No. 47.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to
the Governor General, dated 10th August 1832.

STATES that Moontuzimood dowlah again applied for the Protection of the
Residency Chobedars, which was refused, and that the Durbar attempted to
cause the Resident to commit himself with reference to the Nuwab's Accounts.
The Resident's Answer reports, that the Minister went to his House privately.
Alludes to the Probability of many false Charges and Accounts being brought
against the Nowab to the present Position of Affairs at Court, and to the Circum-
stance of the Resident having called the King's Attention to the Arrears of
Business connected with the Residency. Adverts to the Considerations which
will induce the Resident to assume a different Tone of Feeling and Cordiality
towards the King and his Public Functionaries from that which was heretofore
manifested, though, under existing Circumstances, no marked Estrangement
will be shown. Requests the Instructions of the Governor General to the last
Four Paragraphs of this Dispatch. Alludes to the main Cause of the Nowab's
Dismissal from Office; viz. his Jealousy of the Minister's Reputation as the Ruler
of the Country; and concludes by stating, that the Resident will be guided by
the future Instructions of Government, and that he will make another Report
To-morrow.

(Signed)

J. Low, Resident.

No. 48.

No. 48.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 10th August
1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

My last Report brought up my Account of Affairs here to Wednesday
Afternoon. At that Time Hackeries and Bearers had arrived for the Minister's
Family and Baggage, and it was announced that his People would be allowed
to remove in Peace. He had no Confidence himself of Safety from Insult, and
sent to entreat the Protection of my Chobedars, which Request I refused to
comply with, on the Grounds I stated in one of my late Dispatches.

2. Another Trick was attempted upon me by the Durbar People late at
Night. They sent one of the King's Chobedars to me, with Four or Five
Native Merchants, who, it was said, had large Claims on the Nuwab for
Purchases lately made of valuable Articles for the Palace; and the Chobedar
asked me, as from the King, to give my Word that those Accounts should be
duly settled. I gave him no Answer, but sent to the King to request he would
send some respectable Person to me. He sent Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan, and
as soon as he arrived I told him, before several of my Servants, as follows:—
“ Tell the King that which I told him Yesterday before Lieutenant Paton;
“ that I have nothing whatever to do with the Minister's Accounts, nor even
“ with the Nuwab himself, now that he is no longer in Office. He is now
“ going to his House in the Town, you say; but if the King thinks he cannot
“ secure a proper Settlement of Accounts excepting where the Nuwab is now,
“ his Majesty can desire him to remain, and settle all Accounts in his present
“ Place of Residence. I don't care if he stay there Six Months now, or go
“ away.”

3. I heard

3. I heard nothing more 'till about Seven o'Clock Yesterday Morning, when it was reported to me, that although the Zenanah had gone off (and unmolested, I am happy to add) in the Middle of the Night, yet that the Minister himself was still behind, packing up his Property. The same Report prevailed in the Palace, and the King was much enraged, it is said, in consequence, and he sent People to order the Nowab out forthwith. On their entering the House they found, to their great Surprise, that a few Servants only remained, and that the Nowab had gone off about Three o'Clock in the Morning, concealed in one of his Women's Ruths. This has since proved to be the Fact. The Minister was afraid, I suppose, of Insult from the armed Populace within the Palace. I have Reason to think that the King fully intended, on this one Point, to act according to his Declaration; namely, to allow the Minister to remove without any Molestation; for I find that the Merchants and Chobedar were sent to me on Wednesday Night by Order of Moozuffer Allee Khan, without the Knowledge of his Majesty.

4. Many Accounts and false Charges may very likely still be brought up against Moontuzm ood Dowlah, so that it is impossible to say how long he may remain at Lucknow; but I shall of course take no Sort of Notice of such Affairs on one Side or other.

5. No new Ministry has yet been appointed; but the Nowab being now clearly removed from his Office, the Business which has so much engaged the Court during the last Ten Days may be said to be brought to a Close.

6. The King having announced his Plan to be that of conducting all Business himself, I Yesterday sent to him a List of different Affairs now in arrears in which the British Government are directly concerned, requesting their Adjustment, but I have not yet received any Reply.

7. I look upon it as almost certain that the King will not attempt to conduct all Public Business himself for many Days together. He must, I think, appoint One or more Officers to communicate with the Resident; and I shall make a Point of receiving with Civility any Persons sent by the King as his Public Officers, be the Character of the Individuals what they may. I cannot of course make the same public Demonstration of Cordiality with any new Minister as I did lately with Moontuzim oo Dowlah, after the solid Proofs he gave of his Zeal and Efficiency; nor do I mean to seek for little Opportunities, as before, to show Civility to the King himself, unless I see that he pursues some Steadiness of Conduct.

8. The Nowab devoted his whole Mind to the Public Good, and therefore the Support of the British Representative indirectly did Public Good to the Oude Country; in like Manner, my cordial Manner of Kindness towards the King had similar Effects. But it is impossible to predict till they be tried by the Experience of some Months, whether or not the King and his new Ministers might not make the most improper Uses of any marked Cordiality from the Resident; they might attribute, in the Country, the most unjust Acts of this Government to my Counsel.

9. On the other hand it is necessary to bear in mind that the King is at present in a State of Probation as to the Management of his Kingdom, on the declared Plan of leaving the entire Power in his own Hands, aided, *when he may ask for it*, by the friendly Counsel of the British Resident; so that it would not be fair towards the Oude Government were I to show any thing like marked Estrangement from it. Such Conduct might give the Impression, in the Country, that the British Government were seriously displeased with the King and his Ministry; the turbulent Portion of the People might withhold the Revenue, and look for some other speedy Change, and from the latter Feeling alone they might become refractory and rebellious. I am certainly much disgusted, as an Individual, at the Proofs I have had of the contemptible Character of the King himself, but I shall take care to shape my official Conduct by the Principles and Considerations above described, provided they be approved by the Right Honourable the Governor General, and I therefore hope for an early Reply to the preceding Four Paragraphs of this Letter.

10. It may be proper to bring to the Notice of the Governor General what I consider to have been the main Cause of this Change in His Majesty's Mind towards his Minister. I am decidedly of Opinion that it was a Feeling of Jealousy. Several of the Begums (the King's Mother in particular) never forgave the Minister for depriving them of their Farms, and for their own

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(continued.)

Purposes they have diligently instilled into the weak Mind of the King the Notion that the Minister was acting independently of his Majesty, and thus degrading the Royal Station, and they flattered him into the Belief that he is perfectly fit to be his own Minister. The preposterous Accusations of kicking the late King's Picture, and abusing the Padshah Begum, &c., were all brought in as Auxiliaries to inflame the King's Mind against the intended Victim, and have been mainly used by his Majesty in his Conversations with me as the Pretexts for his dismissing Moontuzim oo Dowlah; but I doubt much whether the King really believes those Stories; while I am convinced that Jealousy, and the Fear of being thought incapable of governing the Country himself, have been the main Causes of the lamentable Change in the State of Affairs here, and the gloomy Prospects that now exist as to the probable future Management of this fine Country.

11. In regard to myself, I have only to do the best I can to avert Disorder with such Instruments as the King may select, adhering of course closely to the Spirit of such Instructions as I may receive from my own Government.

12. I shall To-morrow address you again, for the Purpose of taking a short Review of the Scene exhibited here during the last Ten Days as far as my own Conduct was connected with it.

I have the Honour to be,
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Lucknow Residency,
10th August 1832.

(True Copy.)
Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 49.

No. 49.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 11th August 1832.

ADVERTS to the Failure of the Resident's Attempts to benefit the Oude Government, and to the Reflections that arise therefrom; states that his Course was shaped by the Instructions of the 25th August, and his Advice grounded on the King's Conduct; requests for Advice; and, on the Result of the Two First Conferences, submits the Considerations which induced the Resident to make use of the Governor General's Threat of assuming the Management of this Country; alludes to the Freedom of the King of Oude from the Fear of any general Revolt, from the Nature of the Treaty and the Presence of British Troops; quotes the Instructions of the 25th August; alludes to the only immediate Effect of the Resident having been consulted on this Occasion, and to the Circumstance of the British Government not having been committed with reference to the Nowab's Accounts; and notices the zealous Co-operation of the Assistant ever since the Resident came to Lucknow.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 50.

No. 50.

LETTER from Major J. Low, to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 11th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

THE Details of all the late Transactions at this Court are now before the Right Honourable the Governor General in my several Dispatches; but, adverting to the concluding Paragraph of that of the 10th Instant, I now beg leave to bring to the Notice of his Lordship a more condensed View of those Events as far as they were connected with my own Duties.

2. In the first place, I may observe that my Attempts to do Good to the Oude State in the late Discussions have totally failed, but I would submit that the Result of a Political Discussion is not always a correct Criterion by which to

judge of the Conduct of any Individual, especially in a Case like this, where the principal Personage is so weak and vacillating and puerile as is the King of Oude, surrounded by many influential Persons with whom the Resident can never come into Communication.

3. That my Attempt has failed, to do Good has surprised no one at this Place, for the King's Animosities through Life have always been as bitter and unreasonable as his Partialities, while they lasted, have been extravagant and capricious. It is a common and a correct Remark now in this City, that his Majesty has been longer faithful to Moontuzim oo dowlah than he ever was before to any Human Being, Male or Female. But the Question is this, Was it or was it not my Duty to make some Attempt to induce the King to act in a more sensible Manner?

4. My Proceedings will be judged of with reference to the peculiar Mode in which these Discussions commenced to the actual State of our Relations with Oude, and still more by Advertence being given to the general Instructions (dated the 25th August) under which I am performing my Duties at this Court.

5. I have thought it right to prepare this Exposition of my late Proceedings with the foregoing Observations; because I am sensible that under a System of Non-interference it might strike many Men, especially looking at the actual Result, that the better Plan for the Resident would have been to have simply said from the first, "Act as you please in this Affair. I have nothing to do with it."

6. But it is to be remembered, first, that the King particularly asked my Advice throughout, and that during the first Two Conferences he by no means announced any thing beyond that he was *thinking* of changing his Minister, while he asked my Counsel with every Appearance of Cordiality. I was not aware at first of the Extent of the King's Duplicity. He left me at the Close of the First Conference saying that he would do nothing, till he should see me again. The End of the Second Conference *appeared* to be still more favourable, for his Majesty then voluntarily declared that he pardoned his Minister, and openly ordered him to return to his Duties.

7. By the Time the First Conference took place (the 5th Instant) I saw that the King was extremely excited, and that he seemed determined to dismiss his Minister, and I then changed my Tone, and did say continually, "Do as you please. Why ask my Advice at all when you never follow it? If you remove this Man without hearing his Defence I shall lament it on your Account, for I think you have been imposed upon; but do as you think best."

8. In regard to my having reminded the King of the Governor General's Threat to manage this Country by British Agency if it again became the Scene of Anarchy and Disorder, I thought that this Proceeding was absolutely necessary, and only fair to the King himself, who was about to commit an Act which may directly lead, before long, to an absolute Necessity for the British Government to carry its Threat into execution. I look upon it that the Threat alluded to is the only Thing calculated to prevent the King and his Begums and other present Advisers from again reverting to the old System of granting Farms to rapacious and worthless Persons, and of frequent Changes of Farmers and other Public Officers, with all the extensive Evils arising from such Conduct, as exemplified for some Years previous to the Governor General's Visit to Lucknow. It struck me that, however childish and in other respects contemptible the Character of the King really is, yet that it would have been cruel on such a grave Occasion as this not to warn him in the most solemn Manner of the Disgrace that is likely to overwhelm him should he permit his Subjects to be grievously oppressed.

9. There is no other Check in existence but the Dread of the probable Acts of the British Government to restrain the Vice or Folly of any King of Oude. In many other Native States the Fear of serious Revolt often restrains the Ruler from extreme Oppression. In Oude no such corrective Principle can come into operation; there may be petty Insurrections when the People are grievously oppressed, but the King has never any Fear of the personal Danger that would attend a general Revolt. No such Event can take place, owing to the peculiar Nature of his Treaty with the British Government, and to the Presence of our Troops at his Capital and in different Parts of his Dominions.

10. I may also mention, that Moontuzim oo dowlah had proved himself to be, as observed in your Dispatch of the 25th June, a real Friend to his Country,

No. 50. Country, and had made a vast Improvement in it during the last Eighteen
(continued.) Months; so that, *my Advice having been asked*, it seemed incumbent on me as Resident to advise the King earnestly to *ascertain* whether his Minister had really committed any serious Faults, before removing such a Man from an Office in which he had performed such essential Services to the Oude Government.

11. Lastly; my Instructions contain the following Directions for my Guidance: —“ If his Majesty or if the Minister voluntarily consult you as to the “probable Effect and Expediency, or the contrary, of any Measures, you will “then freely and candidly give your Opinion, in the Spirit of the most “friendly Concert.”

12. The whole Subject is now fully before the Governor General; and I trust, that although I have not found it practicable to bring about a Reconciliation between the King and the Minister, yet that, adverting to all the Circumstances of the Case, it will be considered right on my Part to have made an Attempt to effect an Object so very desirable for the Oude Dominions, and indirectly for the British Government.

13. The only immediate Effect that has resulted from the Circumstance of my being consulted in this Affair is one that has been indirectly produced. It is, that the King, *for the first Time in his Life*, has dismissed a Minister without the Stigma to himself of adding personal Tyranny and Oppression to his Injustice.*

It is quite true that this Fact has done no positive Good to the British Government, but at all events it has done no Harm, and it has been legitimately effected, for I was most cautious in not making any Demand or Remonstrance on that Subject. I only announced that I fully approved of the spontaneous Declaration on the Part of the King that it was his Intention to allow the Minister to depart without Molestation; and I saw no Harm in further reminding his Majesty more than once of his Declaration, in doing which I was influenced both by a Wish to save an already ill-used Man from unmerited Disgrace, and by a Desire to save the King himself from the Stigma that would have been attached to him if he allowed the Minister to be treated with Insult and Degradation. I have, however, steered fully and openly clear, as my detailed Reports must have shown, of in any way committing myself or my Government in regard to the Minister's Accounts or the Period of his leaving Lucknow. He is still in the Hands of this Government, and is in reality a Prisoner, although in his own House, and it is impossible to predict how long he may be compelled to remain there. But he is no longer in Office, and all Communication between him and me, and all Discussions on my Part respecting him, are at an end.

14. In conclusion I beg leave to take this Opportunity of stating (which I have never done heretofore) that ever since my Arrival at Lucknow I have found in Lieutenant Paton a most active and efficient Assistant. His Duties are at all times laborious; but for the last Ten Days I was obliged to give him constant extra Trouble, not merely in copying and translating Papers, but by sending for him at all Hours, and holding full personal Discussions with him, during the Progress of these vexatious Occurrences. I can conscientiously say that his Zeal and good Sense were most conspicuous throughout; and I should feel chargeable with Neglect of Duty were I to omit to bring the cordial and useful Assistance that I have received from that Officer to the Notice of the Right Honourable the Governor General.

Lucknow Residency,
11th August 1832.

I have the Honour to be,
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton;
Chief Secretary to Government.

* Vide the King's Declaration at the Conference of the 7th Instant.

No. 51.

No. 51.

Secret Department.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to GEORGE SWINTON Esq. dated
20th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM directed to transmit to you, for the Information of the Honourable the Vice President in Council, and for Record, the enclosed Copy of a Letter, addressed on this Date, to the Resident at Lucknow, in reply to his Dispatches, dated the 6th, 8th, 10th, and 11th Instant.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Shimla,
20th August 1832.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 52.

No. 52.

Secret Department.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated 20th August
1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM now directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters dated the 6th, 8th, 10th, and 11th Instant.

His Lordship has nothing to add to the Communication already made to you connected with the recent Events at Lucknow, beyond the Expression of his Regret at finding that your prudent Counsel, though solicited by the King, has been finally rejected by his Majesty; but his Lordship desires me to convey to you his Assurance that your Conduct, throughout the difficult and vexatious Negotiations which formed the Subject of your recent Correspondence, has met with his entire and unqualified Approbation.

You will be pleased also to intimate to your Assistant Lieutenant Paton, that his Lordship has derived great Gratification from perusing the Testimony of his Merit which you have recorded. His Lordship was led to entertain a very favourable Opinion of that Gentleman's Character, from Information already before him, and that Opinion has been confirmed by your Report of the Zeal and Ability which he has displayed on the recent Occasion.

It is quite impossible, his Lordship desires me to observe, to calculate with any Degree of Certainty on the Effect which may be produced on the Mind of his Majesty when he shall have received the Letter addressed to him on the 15th Instant, but it may be hoped that it will at least prove the Means of inducing him to reflect seriously on the Consequence which must sooner or later overtake him, if, by the Selection of vicious or incapable Ministers, he suffers his Country to be ruined by Oppression, and to relapse into Anarchy.

Your own Notions as to the Line of Conduct which should be observed towards the Oudh Authorities appear to his Lordship to be so correct as to supersede the Necessity of his furnishing you with any additional Instructions for your Guidance as Representative of the British Interests at the Court of Lucknow.

I have, &c.

Shimla,
20th August 1832.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 53.

No. 53.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 14th August 1832.

REPORTS that no Change of local Officers has been made in the Interior, attributable to the Resident's Letter to the King of the 7th, and to the Extract of the Memorandum of the Governor General's Conference, which is no longer a Secret, having been communicated by the King to several of his new Counsellors, a Circumstance likely to be beneficial in its Results for Reasons given; alludes to the new Expectants for official Employment not sent to supersede those in the Country appointed by the late Minister, owing to the sensible Advice of Three Persons; states, that all Public Officers at the Capital have been changed; and that the excellent Regulation made by the late Minister, of disarming the Population of Lucknow, has been abolished; mentions the evil Consequences of this Measure, One Man having been killed and Five wounded; remarks that no Ministry has yet been appointed; that Tajooddeen is sent daily by the King with complimentary Messages to the Resident, whose Message to the King is noticed; states that Business connected with the Residency is partially conducted by the Court, and that some required Purwanahs have been received under the King's Seal.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 54.

No. 54.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq. dated 14th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

As the Governor General will now doubtless be anxious to know the passing Events in Lucknow, I think it right to address you for that Purpose, although I have not much of Importance to report as to any great Measures on the Part of this Court. Indeed the only Thing of a satisfactory Nature that I have to say is, that no great Change has taken place in regard to Public Officers in the distant Parts of the Country since the Dismissal of the Minister.

2. I have every Reason to believe that the above-mentioned negative Benefit to the Inhabitants of this Kingdom has been mainly caused by my Letter of the 7th Instant to his Majesty, or rather, I should say, by the Extract of the Governor General's Conference with the King which was enclosed in that Letter.

3. Hitherto the Nature of his Lordship's Conference with the King was kept an entire Secret between his Majesty and the Minister; but I now find that the King, the Day after he received my Letter, handed it over, with its Enclosure, to a Party of Seven or Eight of his new Advisers, and directing each of them to write a Reply for his Consideration, he retired into his Zenanah, and did not re-appear in Public 'till next Morning.

4. Under such Circumstances it cannot be doubted that what was before a Secret must now be known to a great many Persons, in addition to the Committee above alluded to, to whom the King confided it; but I think that no Evil to the Oude Country is likely to be caused by this Circumstance, but rather the contrary; for, as there is no other Check in this Kingdom to extreme Misrule excepting a Fear of the possible Acts of the British Government, it is rather desirable, as it appears to me, that the Risk of British Interference should be known to other Persons at this Durbar besides the King himself, whose Want of Sense and Judgment has been so conspicuous through Life.

5. From the Day that the Order was issued (the 5th Instant) that no Public Officer should enter the Minister's House, Crowds of Persons have daily attended at the Palace (besides Five or Six Men newly admitted to Seats at the King's Table), making Interest for the Situations of Aumils and other high Offices in the Country, in the Room of those who had been appointed by Moontuzim ood Dowlah. Promises were made to several, but fortunately (as I think it) the King has not yet performed those Promises, owing to the good Sense

Sense of some few of the King's new Advisers, who, in consequence of having seen the Extract of the Governor General's Conference and my Letter to the King, have ventured to urge his Majesty not to disturb, for the present at all events, the Arrangements of the late Minister in the distant Parts of the Country. According to the Reports of my Newswriters, and confirmed also by other Informants, the good Counsel above alluded to was given to the King by Mohsimood Dowlah, a Nephew of his own, and Roshunoodowlah, the Person who it was supposed will be the Prime Minister; my Newswriters also report that Tajoodeen Hoosaim Khan was sent for by his Majesty when this Advice was given, and that he cordially joined in the Recommendation.

6. Respecting the State of Affairs at the Capital, I regret to say that such Counsel as that above alluded to, in regard to Aumils, &c., has either not been given to the King, or, if given, it has not been attended to, for all Public Officers who had been nominated to their Situations by Moontuzim oo dowlah have been discharged, and so hastily replaced by others that it is not possible the Selections can have been made with due Regard to the Qualifications of the new Men.

7. An excellent Regulation of the late Minister's has also been publicly abolished; viz. that no Persons throughout this crowded City were allowed to wear Military Weapons in the Streets, excepting Guards of the Regular Army proceeding on Duty from one Place to another, the Officers of the Police, and the Sowaries of a few Men of high Rank.

8. I now see Hundreds of Persons in the Streets (in my Morning and Evening Rides) armed at all Points, and evidently rejoicing at the restored Privilege; and I have no Doubt that it was in consequence of the truly unwise and unfeeling Change above mentioned that a violent Affray took place this Morning, in which One Man was killed and Five Men were desperately wounded. I mention Five wounded only, because that Fact was admitted to me a few Minutes since by a Messenger from the King, who came to apprise me that his Majesty had sent Orders to apprehend the Offenders. One of my official Servants reported to me having seen Eight Persons wounded, more or less severely, several of them by Pistol Shots, and the rest by Sabre Cuts.

9. No new Ministry has yet been appointed, although Tajoodeen is daily sent to me from the Palace. He is not, however, entrusted with the Transaction of any Business; and I imagine that the Object in sending him to me is merely to keep up an Appearance of Civility, by Inquiries after my Health, and, more particularly during the last Two or Three Days, after that of my Child, who has been suffering a little from Fever. The King has also an Impression that Tajoodeen, from long being in personal Communication with me, is likely to have some Influence over me.

10. I have desired Tajoodeen more than once to tell his Majesty that I would much rather hear from his public Officers that proper Measures had been adopted for the Completion of some unadjusted Residency Business; but nevertheless I make it a Point to receive in a polite Manner all these idle Messages from the King, because I think it very desirable, in a public point of view, to prove that I have no personal Feelings in regard to the late Discussions, in which I thought it my Duty to speak in favour of the Conduct and Character of Moontuzim oo dowlah.

11. In conclusion, I think it right to mention that the King and his Advisers are not allowing the Residency Business connected with the Court to be *entirely* at a Stand. Both Yesterday and To-day, I have received Packets of Purwanahs, with the King's Seal on them, which were applied for by me before the Commencement of the late Discussions, and which were required for the Adjustment of various Matters by different British Functionaries in the Company's Territories, and by the Commandants of Out-posts in Oude. Those Purwanahs were delivered to me by Chobdars, instead of by Tajoodeen, as heretofore, in his Capacity of King's Vakeel.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
14th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
15th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

TAJOODEEN Hoosain Khan waited upon me this Morning, by Order of the King, to say that his Majesty wished much to speak a few Words to my Assistant Lieutenant Paton. I asked the Cause; to which Tajoodeen replied, that the Object in view was to consult Lieutenant Paton respecting the best Mode of Proceeding on the Part of the King to regain from me the same Kindness of Manner and Conduct that had formerly been evinced by me towards his Majesty. I answered by saying, that good Government in this Country, and Tranquillity in the Capital, were the Means, and easy ones, of *regaining my Favour*; but that I had no Objections to sending Lieutenant Paton. To which Tajoodeen replied, that the King in that Case would hope for Mr. Paton's Company To-morrow Forenoon. Nothing more passed, excepting complimentary Inquiries after myself and Family.

2. Surrounded by Day and Night as *this weak and conceited King* is at present by self-interested and wicked Persons, who place no Value on good Government, there is no Certainty that Lieutenant Paton's Visit can be of any Use; but I think it cannot do Harm, while it may possibly do Good that the King should have my real Sentiments from a sensible Third Person on whose Veracity he places Reliance, and I shall accordingly send Lieutenant Paton to his Majesty To-morrow. In the meantime I have drawn up a hasty Memorandum of Instructions for the Guidance of the Assistant at the proposed Interview. Of which Paper I have now the Honour to enclose a Copy for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
15th Aug. 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

MEMORANDUM for Lieutenant Paton's Conversation with the King.

THE King's Object in sending for you is, I understand, to ask you how he is to act in order to regain my former Kindness. You may tell his Majesty that the Resident is a true Friend to the Oude Government, and that he is a Man with straight-forward honest Intentions ("a Saf dil ka admee"); that he will never say one Thing and do another. Say that the Resident only thinks about the Prosperity of your Country. On that Account the Resident will receive with Civility any Person you may appoint, *even if you should select a Cooly from the Bazar!* He cannot at first act with the same Display of Cordiality as he did latterly with Moontuzim ood Dowlah, because the Nuwab was clearly and successfully labouring for the Good of your Country. The Resident will require a *long Time* of correct Conduct on your Majesty's Part and of your Government before that Sort of Cordiality can be looked for.

The King puts a great Value on my public Attentions, such as volunteering to ride with him in his Carriage, going with him to see Buildings and Pictures, &c. Now there can be no Harm, and perhaps much Good may arise from it, if you have an Opportunity of explaining to him that all those public and marked Attentions were bestowed by me *because the King's Government was going on properly*, and therefore the only Way to secure such a Display of Cordiality again will be to establish a good Government.

We are strong enough in India now, and at Lucknow especially, to declare openly our honest Sentiments at all Times, and such Language as the above may do much Good. You might exemplify it by observing, that it would have been quite improper during the last few Days, for instance when Violence and Murder were committed in the open Streets of this City, if the Resident had been feasting and amusing himself at the Palace, because the poor suffering Inhabitants would have thought that such Cruelty and Disorder were encouraged by the British Government.

The Reason that the Resident is disgusted, has nothing to do with any personal Partiality for the Nuwab. The Resident *cares not a Straw for Individuals*; he looks only to the Business of your Government.

If the King should ask what is the Cause of my present Dissatisfaction, tell him, in mild Terms, that it is a Feeling more of deep Regret than any thing else, at my having lost my Confidence in the King's own Word. And if he should ask why I should doubt it, you can show Causes, in the following Manner: You may say, "At the Padshah Begum's Gate, on returning from Dilkoosha, you assured the Resident that you would do nothing 'till you saw him again on the following Tuesday, yet *how opposite* were your Actions. The very next Day you sent for Moozuffer Allee Khan, ordered out your Tents to Khoor Shaid Munzil, and sent Orders to the Nuwab not to attend; which of course destroyed his Authority."

"Then, on Saturday, at the Residency, you openly said you had pardoned the Nowab, and you openly ordered him to return to his Duties; you promised to send him to the Resident on Monday for Business. *You never performed that Promise.* You also announced that it was your Intention to send the Minister out into the Country to settle Disturbances and Revenue Affairs; *but you did not do so.* On Sunday, at your Palace, the very last Word you spoke was, that you would do nothing more, 'till you could hear from the Governor General; *and you acted in a totally different Manner.* Now, how is it possible, after such sudden Changes, for the Resident to have Reliance on your Word? It will really take a *long Time* of open straightforward Conduct on your Part to enable the Resident to put Faith in your Proposals or alleged Plans on any Subject; but, if you will act openly and steadily, all may yet go on smoothly. I sincerely hope that henceforward you will always act openly with the Resident; that you will devote your Mind to the proper Management of your Country, and not listen to evil Counsellors, who think of nothing but themselves and their own Jealousies and Enmities; those Persons care nothing for you. I trust you will act with Rectitude, and either do the Business of the Government yourself with *Efficiency and Justice*, or that you will appoint others to do it, whichever of the Two you please. By such Conduct you will, I trust, again find the Resident your open Friend and Supporter, for he has a sincere Desire for the Welfare of your Kingdom, and for your own Happiness and Honour."

If the King should wish to entrap you into saying you or I would approve of any particular Person or Persons for Office, you will of course decline saying a single Word in favour of any One. He must judge entirely for himself in such Matters.

Lucknow Residency,
15th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 56.

No. 56.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated
30th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

IN reply to your Letter dated the 15th Instant, I am directed to inform you that the Instructions furnished by you to Lieutenant Paton for conducting his Conference with the King appear to his Lordship to be judicious.

I have, &c.

Shimla,
30th August 1832.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 57.

No. 57.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 17th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

WITH reference to my Letter of the 15th Instant, I have herewith the Honour to forward Lieutenant Paton's Minute of Yesterday's Conference with the King. The Memorandum alluded to by Mr. Paton as being marked A. is that of which I forwarded to you a Copy on the 15th Instant, and I therefore don't think it necessary to send another Copy now.

2. Lieutenant Paton's Conversation does not appear to have been of any Utility, and I only forward the Minute of it as furnishing Information of the King's favourite Scheme, which is evidently that of securing to himself, as he thinks, all the Credit of transacting the Business of this Government, without the Assistance of any Minister, and which I fear will soon lead to extensive Evils; for his numerous Advisers (he does not term them Ministers) obtain his Seal and Signature to Papers and Orders framed according to their own Views and Wishes, and as those Documents come apparently from the King direct the real Framers of them will escape all Responsibility. But I shall take no Notice of any Irregularities that may occur, unless I be consulted, excepting such as may directly affect the Interests of the British Government. It would be of no Use, in my Opinion, at present to intrude Advice unasked, and it would be contrary to my original Instructions.

3. I mentioned, in one of my late Dispatches, my Belief that the King would not for many Days in succession attempt the Labour of transacting Business himself, and that therefore he would soon appoint some one as Minister. I proved to be quite correct in the first Part of my Prediction, but not in the second, because the new Advisers have adopted an Expedient that relieves the King from all Trouble, either of Thought or Writing or Discussion, while he is weak enough to be flattered into the Notion that it will be supposed in his Country that every Order or Decision emanates from himself.

4. The King only had the Reports opened in his Presence *One Day*; since that Day they are opened overnight by his new Counsel, who prepare Orders for the Royal Seal before they again see his Majesty: they then assemble round him for Half an Hour or an Hour, as it may be, after Breakfast, while he smokes his Hookha and plays with a pet Parrot, and they get his Majesty's Seal attached to the different Papers. He thus fancies that he is doing every thing, and thus (as is described by Mr. Paton) he considers the Business of regulating a large Government as the simplest Thing possible; and this Delusion may last a considerable Time, because he is so situated as to be exposed to no personal Inconvenience from Misgovernment.

5. Any Minister acting under Responsibility to the King would often feel a Comfort in discussing the real State of Affairs, whether good or bad, with a Resident who is disposed to be friendly towards the Durbar; but the present Advisers have no Responsibility, and they have neither the Power at present, nor have they the Wish, to consult the Resident; so that if this System continue in force it is not at all likely that I shall be consulted 'till some serious Evils shall have actually occurred.

6. The only Change that has taken place since my last Letter as to official Men is, that for some Reason which I have not heard his Majesty had displaced Moozuffee Allee Khan from the Command of the Army, and has given it (but without bestowing any Khillut) to Jaffer Allee Khan, a Son of the former.

7. It is proper that I should mention one Circumstance which is satisfactory; viz. that the King has sent circular Orders to all the Officers in the Interior to be very particular in speedily attending to British Sepoys Cases, and all other Matters connected with Requisition from this Residency.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
17th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

MINUTE of a Conference with the King on the 16th August 1832.

No. 57.
(continued.)

IN obedience to the Order of the Resident, I proceeded this Morning, at his Majesty's Request, as conveyed through Tajood Deen Hoosain Khan, to the Palace to visit the King. I found him seated alone, with Tajood Deen, who was present during the whole of the Interview. The Resident had furnished me with the accompanying Memorandum (marked A.) for my Guidance in shaping my Conversation with the King, and having attentively read it I waited an Opening for its Introduction in my Talk.

After the usual Compliments, I introduced the subject Matter of the Memorandum. The Conversation was desultory, but I had the Opportunity of saying, with occasional Interruptions, nearly what follows :—

Tajood Deen having led to the Subject, his Majesty expressed that his good Feelings towards me had been long standing.

Tajood Deen, as is usual with Courtiers, took up the Subject and spoke, assuring his Majesty of my habitual good Feeling towards him, and of my Wish to promote his real Interest.

Though, by the Resident's Instructions I should have waited, and given the King himself the Opportunity of opening to me the Reason of his wishing to see me, and should have made my Remarks Answers to Inquiries on his Majesty's Part, yet knowing from Experience that the King prefers that Conversations on grave Subjects should be conducted through a third Person, and is not given to come to the Point himself, I availed myself at once of Tajood Deen's Adverture to my friendly Feelings, and proceeded to say how sincerely I wished his Majesty's Prosperity, and how desirous I was that a good Understanding should continue between his Majesty and the Residency. I said it became me not to conceal what I was in the habit of hearing and seeing, namely, that the Resident, though a Wellwisher of his Government, was at the present Moment much grieved, and, being a straightforward Man, he was not given to conceal what he could not but feel. The Cause of this Vexation, I said, was, not from the displacing of this Man or that Man. "Were your Majesty," I said, "to use the Resident's Words, 'to take a Cooley from the Bazar*' and present him as your selected Minister, he would be received as such at the Residency.† With Individuals he has nothing to do. He is grieved that he cannot now place Reliance on your own Promises or Proceedings". I said, "He is a Man of much Experience in holding Communications with Native Durbars. He has been Resident at the Courts of Jeypore and Gwalior and with the Paishwa, and he could not fail to be displeased when he found that Measures which your Majesty had concerted with him To-day should be abandoned and changed without Communication with him To-morrow. It were better not to consult him at all, or ask Advice, than so to act". The King seemed to have no Relish for the Advice given by the Resident. I said, "Your Majesty may not approve of it, but still the Counsel was sound and good; for instance, I said, when he left you in the Carriage at the Gate of the Padshah Begum it had been mutually settled that you would do nothing without consulting him; whereas on the Day following you ordered out the Tents to Koorshied Mungil Park"; and here his Majesty, turning away his Head with a most unequivocal Expression of Dislike to the Subject on his Countenance, said, "The Tents were my own, and this was my Affair alone." I was prevented from drawing Conclusions from the pitching of the Camp by the desultory Conversation which followed.

"Again," I continued, "you promised the Resident at the Residency that you would send the Minister to transact Business with him, but never did so;

* Remark.—This Expression was introduced into my Memorandum of the 15th Instant in consequence of my having heard that the King was afraid I would object to receive certain Individuals as his Officers who are Men of notoriously bad Characters, and now in high Favour with his Majesty. I don't think it would be fair to object to any Individual, be his Character what it may be; and I was anxious to show the King that on him must rest the whole Responsibility, and that he is therefore at full Liberty to select whomsoever he chooses.

Lucknow Residency,
17th August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

† Tajood Deen subsequently told me that the King had afterwards expressed Pleasure at this Part of my Conversation, as vesting in the King complete Liberty of Choice in the Selection of his Minister.

No. 57. " and again you said that you would wait, and take the Governor General's
(continued.) " Advice; all of which Schemes you abandoned, and acted otherwise."

The King justified himself by saying that the Minister in the meantime had made such Steps necessary.

I adverted to the Subject of cordial and friendly Intercourse between the Durbar and Residency, saying that this depended upon the good Government of the Country. I mentioned the late Bloodshed in the City, and recommended his Majesty to select good and fit Instruments for his Administration.

The King, accustomed only to the grossest Flatterers, had evidently no Relish for such Conversation, and suffered it as an Infliction. He broke it up at length, and said that he feared I would suffer from prolonging the Visit, (for I had not recovered from an Attack of Illness,) and made the Sign to move, I conceive with the view to escape from the Conversation.

There was much of the Resident's Memorandum yet unsaid; but as the King himself had pointedly, though politely, terminated the Conversation, I could not persevere.

We got up, and proceeded to look at the Buildings connected with the Room in which we sate. In crossing the Threshold I said, " If my Observations have " been unpleasant, pardon them; they were well meant for Good, as showing " the real State of Affairs."

We then walked over the Buildings. The King during the whole Visit appeared very complacent, and perfectly at his Ease. It would appear that he is surrounded by gross Flatterers, whose Interest it is to smooth away all Difficulties, and to represent the Government of the Country, requiring the constant Application of Talent, Perseverance, and of undivided Attention, as a simple Matter of very easy Accomplishment. The King spoke of the good Management of his Country with the utmost Confidence as a Matter of course.

I should have mentioned that Tajood Deen asked me before the King if they were at liberty to demand a Settlement of Accounts from the Nawab Muntuzimood Dowlah? I said he was the King's Servant, and not the Resident's; that the Settlement of Accounts was a Matter in which the Resident had no Concern; it concerned only the King, who had promised to treat the Minister honourably, and would not act otherwise.

(Signed) J. PATON,
Assistant to the Resident.

Lucknow Residency,
16th August 1832.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) J. Paton,
Assistant to the Resident.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton.
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 58.

No. 58.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
20th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to enclose a Letter from the King of Oude to the Governor General, which was sent to me several Days since by his Majesty. I have detained the enclosed Letter hitherto, in hopes of being able to forward at the same Time to the Political Secretary Copies and Translations of Two very long Letters from the King to my own Address, and of which he requested me to transmit Translations to his Lordship.

2. I have, however, been prevented from hitherto completing those Translations, owing to a Press of current Business on my own Hands, and in consequence of the sudden and severe Illness at the same Time of my Assistant. I hope, however, to send you the Documents alluded to the Day after Tomorrow, and in the meantime I forward the enclosed Letter, as it contains

the formal Announcement to the Governor General from his Majesty of his having removed Moontuzimood Dowlah from Office.

No. 58.
(continued.)

Lucknow Residency,
20th August 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

No. 59.

No. 59.

LETTER from his Majesty the KING of OUDE, received 3d September 1832.
(Received 5th June 1833.)

After Compliments,

I HAVE to inform your Lordship that the Trouble and Distress I have experienced from my Prime Minister Montizimood Dowlah Mehdee Ali Khan Bahaoon for a long Period of Time, particularly for the last Year, is almost beyond Description, and his unbecoming Conduct towards me for all the Kindnesses that I have bestowed upon him is of such a Nature that it cannot be explicitly detailed in this; I have therefore stated the true Circumstances of the Case in my Letters dated 12th and 15th Rubecool Awul 1248 H. C. (10th and 13th July last), to the Address of Major Low, and although those Letters have been addressed to the above-named Officers, yet the Request therein contained are in reality submitted to your Lordship, and I am sure that according to my Desire that Gentleman will forward to your Lordship Copies and Translations of them.

My great Reliance on your Lordship's Kindness is exceeded only by my Trust in the Favour of the Almighty, I have therefore thought it necessary thus to bring the Circumstance to your Lordship's Notice; and I further beg to state that (God being willing) I will take the Management of my State into my own Hands, and will conduct all the Affairs with great Care and Diligence, in such a Manner as will secure your Lordship's entire Satisfaction and Approbation, and I beg your Lordship will rest quite assured in this respect.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) C. E. TREVELYAN,
Deputy Secretary to Government.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 60.

No. 60.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated 15th Sept. 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I AM now directed to transmit his Lordship's Reply to the Letter from the King of Oude enclosed in your's dated the 20th Ultimo, together with Copies in English and Persian, for your Information. I am also directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letters dated the 23d and 25th Ultimo, the Contents of which do not appear to his Lordship to require any Observation.

Shimla,
15th Sept. 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) G. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 61.

No. 61.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to his Majesty the KING of OUDE.

A. C.

I HAVE received your Majesty's Letter informing me of your having dismissed your Minister Moontazim dowlah Mehdee Ali Khan, and referring me to Communications addressed by you to Major Low for the Reasons which induced a Recourse to this Measure.

Your Majesty is so justly aware of my Sentiments with reference to the Resolution you have formed that to repeat them in this Place would be an idle Waste of Words, and a needless Occupation of your Majesty's Time; but, in the Spirit of Frankness, by which my whole Conduct towards your Majesty has been regulated, I cannot conceal from you that there are many Parts of your Letter to the Address of Major Low which I perused with Pain, and none which carried Conviction to my Mind of the Propriety of your Resolve.

But as I have already repeatedly observed, your Majesty is absolute in the Affairs of your Kingdom. Having given you that Advice which I thought was best calculated to advance your Interests, I cannot permit even the sincere Friendship I entertain for your Royal House to betray me into using the Language of Importunity.

I shall take my Leave of you, therefore, on the present Occasion, by the Expression of an ardent Wish that your Majesty's Anticipations may not be disappointed, and that as well by the Selection of able and virtuous Ministers as by an unremitting Attention on your own Part to the Affairs of your Government you may avert those Consequences which, however painful to the Feelings and injurious to the Reputation of your Majesty, must assuredly and speedily attend a profligate Administration of the important Trust committed to your Charge.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Secretary to the Governor General.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 62.

No. 62.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 23d August 1832.

REPORTS that the King proposed to visit the Resident, but that he himself went to the Palace and delivered the Governor General's Letter to the King, who had it read; states the Resident's Opinion delivered to the King as to the probable Feelings of the Governor General on learning the Dismissal of the Minister; relates the King's Answer. The Resident points out to the King the recent Occurrences in the Interior, subversive of all Order and Tranquillity, and alludes to the Consequences which will result to the King, as they did to the Rajah of Mysore, if there be again Anarchy in his Dominions. Notices the King's Displeasure with Tajooddeen at the Occurrences mentioned; Tajooddeen's Answer, and the King's Threats to Roshun-oo-doulah and Soobhan Allee Khan if the Disorders be not speedily repressed. The King complains of the Want of Cordiality on the Part of the Resident; his Answer. Describes the King's Feelings respecting the Restoration of Moontuzimoodowlah to Office; the Resident's Answer, and the King's Reply. Alludes to the King's charging the late Minister with ambitious Views respecting the Newaub's Grandnephew, which will form the Subject of a separate Dispatch. Notices the Circumstances of circular Orders having been issued to local Officers to keep in force the Rules established by Moontuzimoodowlah; the salutary

salutary Effect of this Measure. Describes in a Postscript the Resident's Dialogue with Tajood-deen, in answer to the Message from the King of the 5th Instant. Reasons for the Resident's holding the Language he did on that Occasion.

No. 62.
(continued.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 63.

No. 63.

Secret Department.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 23d August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatch in the Secret Department dated the 15th Instant, which reached me on the 21st Instant. It has been a Source of very great Gratification to me to find that my Proceedings up to the 5th Instant have been honoured with the Approbation of the Right Honourable the Governor General.

2. Tajooddeen was with me at the Time I received your Letter, and was in the Act of conveying an Intimation from the King that His Majesty wished to pay me a Visit in an Hour or Two, to congratulate me on the Recovery of my Daughter from a late Illness. I mention these Trifles because they serve (to a certain Extent) to show the Desire of the King to keep on good Terms with the Resident.

3. I replied that my Child was still very unwell; that the Noise of his Majesty's Sowarree might disturb her Rest, and that I would rather go to see the King, especially as I had just received Orders from the Governor General to speak to the King without Loss of Time on important Business.

4. The Message being delivered to the King, I was invited to the Palace, and went thither immediately.

5. The King received me at first entirely alone, Tajooddeen, who attended me from the Residency, having been desired to retire.

6. I presented the Governor General's Letter to the King, requesting him to read it, and saying that it was a very important Document, requiring his utmost Attention.

7. The King put the Letter in his Pocket, saying that he would read it at the Hour appointed for reading other Papers.

8. I requested the King, in a very grave Manner, to read the Letter immediately, saying that I was ordered by the Governor General to discuss the Subject of it with his Majesty.

9. The King then sent for Tajooddeen, who read the Letter aloud before us both.

10. When Tajooddeen had finished reading, I explained to the King at some Length how astonished the Governor General must be at this Disagreement with the Minister, and how anxious his Lordship must be on the Subject, since he wrote such a Letter at a Time when he thought the King had pardoned the Minister, and I adverted to the deep Regret the Governor General must feel when he should hear (as he must have heard by the Time) that the Minister had been actually dismissed. The King replied, "The Governor General is my Friend; he does not wish to hamper me as to the Choice of my Servants. What he wants is, that my Country should be managed properly, and it shall be managed properly; better than the Hukeem ever managed it."

11. I observed that that was by no means so easy a Matter as the King seemed to think, and I asked if he knew what had taken place within the last few Days. The King said that he did know, because he had issued all the Orders himself. I remarked, "If that be the Case, I am compelled to say that you have issued most injudicious Orders, for several Parts of your Country are already in the greatest Confusion."

12. I then pointed out that the Aumil at Hydergurh was at this Moment surrounded in his House by a mutinous Battalion of Infantry; that some Thirty or Forty Thannadars, and the Police Officers under them, in the Five Coss Country had been forcibly removed (by Zemindars) from their Offices; several of them

No. 63. them murdered, many imprisoned, and others put to flight, so that I was now
(continued.) in daily Expectation of hearing of Decoities from Oude, in the Futtehgurh, Cawnpore, and Allahbad Districts.

13. I then asked the King if he knew what had happened near Seetapore. He confessed that he did not know to what I alluded; when I related to him the following Circumstances which had come to my Knowledge, and which have since proved to be Facts; viz. that a Body of about 500 Sebundies, who had been attached to the Aumil of that District for the last Ten Years, had been suddenly removed (by an Order from the King) a few Days after Moontuzimoodowlah was deposed; that they had been replaced by a new Party from another District, and that the first Thing which the latter did on their Arrival was to demand their Arrears of Pay from the Aumil; the Aumil replied that he could not pay them without knowing what their Arrears amounted to, nor without Orders from Lucknow; the Party then surrounded the Aumil's House, and made an Attack upon the Public Treasury; they failed in their Attempt to seize the Public Money, owing to the Aumil being supported by his old Adherents in the Village, but they then went off and wantonly destroyed a Garden in the Vicinity, which was the King's own Property; and there is no Doubt, I added, but that more Mischief and Crime will be immediately perpetrated, if this wretched System, or rather Want of System, shall continue.

14. I then desired Tajoodeen to read over the last Sentence of the Governor General's Letter, and taking out of my Pocket your official Letter to me of the 15th Instant, I told the King that I was ordered to explain that Sentence, and I did accordingly explain it, by describing fully the Mysore Case, and by expatiating at length upon the wretched Change that would take place in the King's Situation if similar Disorder should occur in Oude; saying that undoubtedly it would be followed by similar Measures on the Part of the British Government.

15. The King made no Reply whatsoever on the great Question, but he expressed much Vexation at the Facts I had mentioned in regard to the Seetapore Affair, and the Police in the Five Coss Country; he turned round to Tajoodeen, and commenced, in a sharp and pettish Manner, finding fault with him in consequence of the Occurrences I had mentioned.

16. Tajoodeen answered respectfully, but boldly, that he had no Means of knowing them, and still less of preventing them; that his Enemies are in Power; that he never enters the Cutcherry; that he is not entrusted with any thing but Messages to the Resident, and that he cannot therefore be responsible for such Disorder as that now mentioned; repeating that he did not even hear of any of the Occurrences excepting the Meeting at Hydergurh, and partly the Seizure of Thannadars in the Five Coss Country, both of which he had heard as Bazar News.

17. The King, shortly after this, sent Tajoodeen off to the Cutcherry, with a Message to Roshunoodowlah and Soobhan Allee Khan, that if Matters were not immediately placed on their old Footing at Seetapore and in the Five Coss Country they should both be dismissed and disgraced.

18. The King and I were thus again Tête-à-tête, when he expatiated at some Length upon the Habit that he had acquired of speaking more freely to me than he had done before to any other Resident, and of having been (as he said) more happy since my Arrival at Lucknow than he ever was before that Date; "but," he added, "you do not speak to me now as you used to do; your Countenance has not the same Expression towards me as it had."

19. I told the King that I was much flattered by what he had said, but that I must explain to him the main Cause of his Happiness heretofore, as it could not depend upon any Conduct of mine; namely, that the Business of his Government was then going on properly; and I added the following Words:—
"I have every Disposition to be friendly towards your Majesty; but from what I see and hear of the Effects of this new Government of yours I greatly fear that you will never again be so happy as you were before the late unfortunate Change. Reflect well upon the Occurrences which I have just mentioned to you, at Seetapore, Hydergurh, and the Five Coss Country, and consider also that I am a Company's Servant; that I must and will speak the Truth to the Governor General; and although I shall always have the greatest Pleasure in reporting the good Management of your Country, yet if it be badly managed most assuredly I will report it as such, and you will be a

“ great Sufferer. May God grant that you may so conduct yourself as not to compel the Company to treat you as they have done the Rajah of Mysore.”

20. The King, after a little Hesitation, made the following remarkable Observation:—“ I would have sent for the Hukeem back again, but I ‘ could not ‘ do it from a Feeling of Shame’ (‘ Shurum Ke Maray ’).” I explained to the King that he ought not to feel Shame, but quite the contrary, in doing Justice; that his Reputation would be raised by doing so; and as the King understands Allusions to his personal Feelings much better than Public Affairs I pointed out, that as Moontuzimoodowlah’s Talents for managing the distant Provinces were undisputed even by his Enemies, and his little Faults as to Civility to the King’s Household, &c. could be entirely cured by One Word from the King (in which I would be very happy to lend him every Assistance), that I felt certain if the Nawab were recalled to Office *the King himself would be more happy than ever he was before*; for the Kingdom would be prosperous and secure, and he would enjoy the full Approbation and Friendship of the Governor General and the Resident.

21. The King’s Reply was remarkable; he said he could not be happy if the Minister was restored to Office, because in that Case he (the King) could never see his Mother’s Face again.

22. I went on to explain, in the most friendly Manner in my Power, that he ought not to allow Women to meddle with State Affairs, when the King begged me to stop, which I did, and his Majesty, after about a Minute’s Silence, made the following distinct Speech: “ A Hindoostanee Man of Respectability “ is disgraced for ever if he holds friendly Communication with a Person who “ has given bad Names to his Mother, and rather than see the Hukeem sitting “ again in my Presence I would lose my Kingdom !!”

23. I replied, that I grieved to hear him hold such Language, but that if such were his real Feelings I would say nothing more about Moontuzimoodowlah, and I begged his Majesty to recollect that I had not said a Word about him now ‘till the King had voluntarily introduced his Name, by saying that he would have recalled the Minister but for a Feeling of Shame, and I thought the Sort of Shame alluded to had been the Awkwardness of seeing a Man who had been unjustly treated.

24. It appeared to me as probable from what passed on this Occasion that the King might still have been persuaded to restore the Nowab to Office, but for *his Dread of his Mother the Padshah Begum!* But whether that Feeling is owing to his really believing the Story of the Minister having given bad Names to the Begum, or from his Mother’s Hatred of the Minister for other Reasons, and her Jealousy of his Reputation of governing the Country, and not the King himself, it is impossible to know positively.

25. The King then alluded to the Minister having had ambitious and unjust Intentions respecting a little Boy, a Grandnephew of his own; but as this Letter is already very long I shall make that a Subject of a separate Report, especially as the Conversation that passed seems to have been the Cause of a Message received To-day, to say that the King wishes to get back his long Letter* to me on these Events which I alluded to in my Report of the 20th Instant.

26. Nothing more passed of any Importance at this Conference, but I am happy to say it had some useful Effects. The King the same Day sent Orders that the former Sebundies attached to the Aumil at Seetapore should be restored; he also restored Mr. Robert Orr to his Office of superintending the Police in the Frontiers, (from which he had been virtually removed by the Dismissal of the Minister,) and sent Orders for the Thannadars to be released, and to return to their Duties.

27. The old Order has also been put in force, that the Inhabitants of the City are not to be allowed to wear Military Weapons in the Streets; and the Cutwal of the City, who had been selected by the late Minister, is restored to his Office.

28. The King is beginning to be very suspicious of most of his Councillors, and has found many Faults with them within the last Two Days; but he still adheres to his first Plan of making use of them to write all his Orders, although they bear his own Seal. He has, however, this Day publicly issued a Circular

* A Translation of that Letter shall be forwarded to you To-morrow.

No. 63. (Firmaun) to the Aumils throughout the Country, to consider all the former
(continued.) Orders and Regulations of Moontuzimoodowlah to be in full Force.

29. Time only can show whether the King will have Firmness enough to continue in force such Orders as he has now issued, or to see them obeyed if they be continued. I confess I have little or no Expectation of such good Sense, but at all events the Orders now issued will check for a Time many Evils which had already commenced; and the Circumstance of such a Firmaun being promulgated has equally astonished and disappointed most of his new Advisers, who had hoped to make an immediate and rich Harvest for themselves and their Friends by the Dismissal of the late Minister.

Lucknow Residency,

I have, etc.

23d August 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Postscript.—There was one little Dialogue that took place at this Conference between Tajoodeen and me which I may mention, to show the suspicious Mind of the King respecting his own Servants, and some of the Ways of this Court. It was evident to me from what passed that Tajoodeen commenced it to show his Majesty that he had duly delivered the King's Message to me on the Night of the 5th, about the Bribe. Tajoodeen was explaining to his Majesty, that in urging him as I was doing to prevent his Country getting into Disorder I could have had no Motive but the King's own Benefit. "The Burasaheb" said Tajoodeen, "has no Value for Money,"—he made use of a Word implying Money obtained corruptly,—"so what can he have but your Good?" I interrupted him in an angry Manner, by saying, "Never mention such a Word again in my Presence. An European Gentleman considers such an Allusion as a downright Insult, as much as a respectable Mussulman would feel if a Man were to call him an Infidel and a Hog. If such a Hint were given by another European to a British Gentleman of a good Character, as that he was capable of taking a Bribe, he would call him out and fight him with Pistols." Tajoodeen immediately observed, "I have declared that such are the Sentiments of the Resident before now to several Persons." The King made no Observation, but desired Tajoodeen to go off to the Cutcherry, and give the Orders before noticed respecting the Frontier Police, &c.

It struck me as expedient to take up Tajoodeen's Speech in the Manner above described for Two Reasons; one was for the Purpose of saving him from all Suspicion on the Part of his Master of his not having delivered to me the Message reported in my Dispatch of the 6th* Instant, and the other was, that I wished to let the King understand the Nature of my Feelings on such Subjects, which it seemed to me desirable to do, at a Court, so notoriously corrupt as this is; and by addressing myself solely to Tajoodeen I avoided giving any personal Annoyance to his Majesty.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

23d August 1832.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

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No. 64.

LETTER from Major J. Low, to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
25th August 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

With reference to my Letter of the 20th Instant, I have now the Honour to enclose Copies and Translations of the Two long Letters to my Address from the King of Oude on the Subject of the Dismissal and alleged Crimes of the late Minister.

* Tajoodeen told me To-day that his sole Object in speaking as he did, was the Hope that I would give some Answer that would convince the King that he (Tajoodeen) had spoken the Truth when he delivered my Message on the Night of the 5th; and he declares that his Majesty is now convinced, and has since treated him more kindly.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

2. I had

2. I had the Translations copied on half Margin, in order to place some Observations of my own opposite to such a Tissue of Misrepresentations, and such a Number of Accusations totally different (with one Exception) from those brought forward by his Majesty himself in his Conferences with me.

3. But a long Delay has already occurred in having the Translations made, owing to the severe Illness of my Assistant, and my own Time being much occupied with petty current Business; I have therefore contented myself with recording a very few Remarks respecting his Majesty's Letters on some Points that it struck me might be interesting to the Governor General. A great many more Observations might have been made, which would have placed the King's Conduct in making such Statements in a Light very discreditable to his Majesty, in as much as they are greatly at variance with his own previous Assertions; but it is needless to pursue the Subject further.

4. I did not make any Rejoinder to the enclosed Reply to my Letter. His Majesty's chief Adviser now is an old Man named Soobhan Allee Khan, who was one of the principal Writers of Saadut Allee's Correspondence with Colonel Baillie, and he has now got Service again, chiefly in consequence of his own Boasting, that in the event of any Correspondence with the Governor General or the Resident he is the only Person who can write in such an able Manner as to secure Victory to the King. I think it important to discourage all irritating Correspondence, and to *endeavour at least* to sway the King and his Advisers to think only of the proper Management of the Country.

Lucknow Residency,
25th August 1832.

(Signed)

I have, &c.,
J. Low, Resident.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from his Majesty the King of OUDE to the
Address of the Resident at Lucknow, dated 12th Rubbee-ool-Auril
1248 H. (10th August 1832.)

With respect to what you have repeatedly represented to me regarding the Removal of Moontuzimoodowlah Mehdee Allee Khan Buhadeer, undoubtedly it was grounded merely on your Friendship and good Wishes for this Government; but you are not acquainted with the real Facts of the Case. I am ashamed to mention many of those Particulars, nor did I wish to mention them, but I am necessitated to write to you on the Subject.

A few Observations by the Resident.

It is evident that I sent for this Man from Furruckabad in consideration of his Length of Services. The World knows the uncontrolled Authority I gave him, and the Beneficence with which I distinguished him. He has been raised from the Dust by this Government. He merely lived in the Honourable Company's Territories for a few Years of his own Accord, and neither has, nor had, any Dependence or Claim on the British Government; and in like Manner I sent for him, and made him Minister, without the Interference of the British Government; but I was entirely ignorant, from the first, of this Man's Profligacy of Disposition, which is talked of by the whole World, and which has been recorded by former

No. 64. Residents, such as Colonel Collins and
(continued.) Colonel Baillie.

A few Observations by the Resident.

From the Commencement he was seeking to establish his own Power in this State, and to weaken my Authority; consequently it was with this View that he wished to come under the Protection of the Honourable Company through my Letter* (to the Governor General), dated the 18th Jumadee oossanee 1246 Hijree, so that I should have no further Power to remove him; but I admire the Kindness of my illustrious Uncle the Right Honourable the Governor General, that his Lordship arrived at his original Motive, and did not take a Part in his Appointment.

In the Memorandum of the Conference on the 28th January 1831, under the Signature of Mr. Prinsep, the Chief Secretary, it is stated as follows:—“ But his, Moontoozimoo-
“ dowlah’s, Appointment to this high
“ Office is the Act of his Majesty, nor
“ have I any Participation or Inter-
“ ference in the Measure; nay, I have
“ purposely avoided to participate in
“ it, and have not distinguished him
“ with a Khellut on the Occasion of
“ his Appointment, nor did I allow
“ your Majesty to confer such an
“ Honour in my Presence”—to the
End.

At the first he made an admirable Plea for getting the Correspondence Department into his own Hands. The following are the Particulars:—The harsh Letter which he wrote on my Part to Mr. Maddock gave him great Offence. He laid the Charge of that Letter having been penned without his Knowledge on the Head of another, and then made all the Office People remain idle altogether; they had nothing further to do but to copy; he wrote whatever he liked, and carried it into effect. Do not let it enter your Mind why I gave him so much Authority, because, in the first place, the Princes who have themselves been Kings and hereditary Sovereigns have had very little Experience† in most Cases; and, Secondly, It has seldom been the Province of the Sovereigns and Kings of Hindoostan to read Word by Word of such long-written Communications, and to weigh their Beauties and Defects;

Thirdly, When a Person is appointed to the Ministerial Office in consideration of his being a grateful and Wellwisher, he is certainly trusted; also that he will do nothing

* The King, here forgets that, in addition to Writing to the Governor General, he also made personal Application to the Resident entreating that the British Government would bestow a Khellut of Office on the Minister.

† The few Letters written from the King of Oude to the Governor General are almost all on very important Business, so that if the former admits that he allows them to go off without knowing their Contents, it seems to me tantamount to admitting that he is not fit for his Situation.

to the Prejudice of his Master's Interest? Consequently, how could ancient Princes, who were generally altogether illiterate and uneducated, ascertain themselves the good or evil of Writings? They had no other Resource but to place entire Confidence in their Public Functionaries and Ministers.

In short, after he had obtained a firm Footing in the Correspondence Department, he did a Thing which no Officer has ever done ever since the Days of (Adam) the first Parent of Mankind to the present Time; namely, he proposed the Farm of the whole Kingdom for himself. He introduced and invented a Style of Writing by way of Pottah and Kubbooleent, and had a Copy of it sent to the Assistant Resident in Charge in a Letter on my Part dated 1st Rubbee, ool Auril 1246, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General. Besides that, he had a Letter written for his Lordship, in the Spirit of those Papers, which he has not as yet returned to me, but has kept it himself. He committed strange Things which the World will never have heard of. At first he assessed at Rupees 81,00,000* the Revenue of the whole Kingdom, which, independent of the Kham Jumma realized, amounted to Rs. One Crore and Thirty-five Lacs at the Time the Country was ceded; for the Four following Years he agreed to give an annual Increase of Five Lacs, and then made the Jumma stationary for Five Years more. It is therefore evident that he reserved Lacs of Rs. every Year from the State Money to appropriate it to himself. And, in the next place, his excessive Ambition for Stability of Power induced him to have a Promise† inserted on the Part of the Government in the Pottah to the Effect that if he, Moontuzimoodowlah, died, his Heir should be the Master of the Country, in consequence of these Writings.‡ Holy God! what Foresight! that after his Death he should have in view his own Stability and my Want of Power. It may be said that he considered this Country as his Patrimony. Thirdly, he was guilty of strange Deceit and Forgery; he took more than Fifty Lacs of Rupees from the old Treasury for the alleged pay due to former Servants, &c.; and, contrary to it, wrote a most glaring Falsehood, that he had laid out this Money from his Pocket for the Purposes of the State, and stated in the Pottah and

(130.)

Kuboolent

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

* It is notorious that the People were too heavily taxed, and this lowering of the Assessment, so far from being a Fault on the Part of the Minister, is in my Opinion a just Subject for Praise.

† I do not know whether this Accusation is true or false, for I have no Means of ascertaining the Truth or otherwise of such Accusations.

‡ The only Person now in communication with me from the Durbar is Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan, who says that he does not know what can here be alluded to, and that nothing to his Knowledge took place such as is described. Tajoodeen thinks that this refers to the old Scheme of farming the Country which the Minister erroneously proposed, sometime before my Arrival at Lucknow, as a Mode of having the full Power in his Hands (as all Farmers have), to rule without Interference.

M m

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(continued.)

Kuboolcut, that this large Sum of Money would be debited (to the State); so that on the one Hand the Country should be his, and on the other the State should be indebted to him for a large Sum of Money, his own Property without Cause.

I am persuaded you will believe that I had not the least Knowledge* of this deceitful Practice. He had merely told me Two Words; viz. "that the British Government plainly wished to wrest this Country from me, and to take possession of it itself. I have thought of a Plan by which I will take the Responsibility for Ten Years, so that by this Excuse the British Government will not be able to take the Country."

Although I did not consider this Representation as correct, yet as I had given the Reins of Government into his Hands. But how can I be sufficiently grateful for his Lordship's Kindness?—for when his Lordship received this Information from the Assistant Resident in Charge, his cordial and long Friendship induced him not to recognize this Measure; and on the 11th June 1831, as is inferred from the Assistant Resident's Letter of the 11th Mohurnem 1247, his Lordship intimated, that he was entirely against it. Some of the Passages are to the following Purport:—"His Majesty's recognized Title being King of Oude, his Majesty could not, while enjoying this Title, divest himself of the Duties and Responsibilities attached to it. I intimate also to the Minister, that the British Government will never recognize such a Kuboolcut and Pottah as that given by his Majesty." It may therefore be said, his Lordship gave me this Country a second Time; otherwise, had his Lordship agreed to it, I would never have been able to deny it, the Writings being attested by my Seal, and in fact I would have lost the Country for this long Period.

To be brief, the present Cause of my Dissatisfaction and Disgust, and the principal Motive of my removing him is this: He revived this old Story of the Farm, and insisted on my giving the Country for the same Jumma, and on the same Conditions, otherwise, he said, he could not introduce a Reform into the Country. The Conclusion to be deduced is, that there was no Necessity for asking the Consent of the British Authorities. The less Attention I paid to this, the more he was
urgent

A few Observations by the Resident.

* I have little Doubt that this Proposal, although made by the King, originated with the Minister, and certainly it was a preposterous one. But some Allowances are to be made for the great Difficulties which then existed in the Minister's Situation. He knew that the British Government seriously threatened to manage the Country by British Agency, if the Disorder then so prevalent should continue. The Disorder in question was both serious and increasing; and as a Farmer of Revenue is never controlled by any one, this Scheme was the only one that occurred to the Minister at the Time (at least so he has told me since) of securing to himself the Power of restoring the Country to Order without the Interference either of the Begums or any other Persons.

urgent and presumptuous, harsh and malignant. There was not a Day that he was not urgent in this Matter, and that he did not write to me and jar my Mind with this Talk.*

Reflect, therefore, my kind Friend, if this were the only Point, and he had been guilty of no other Fault, did it subject him to Dismissal from Office or not; and what else could I do but remove him?

Secondly.—He made out a most curious Draft respecting the Perquisites of the Office of Vizier, and made me write according to the enclosed Paper. No Perquisites will ever have been heard to be attached to any Office in the Universe Generation after Generation. What can be a stronger Argument in favour of his aiming at Stability, Power, and Authority? This immense Sum of Money he had fixed for himself upon the Receipts and Disbursements of the Government at 10 per Cent. On this Subject, how much can I express my Obligations to the Governor General?—for his Lordship somehow heard of it, and expressed his Disgust at it, which was made known to me by the Assistant Resident's Letter of the 23d Suffer 1247. On this Subject he (Moon-tuzim-oodowlah) himself deliberated a little, and denied taking the Perquisites to the Assistant Resident in Charge. The Fact is, that he did not withdraw his Hand from taking it. But in this also he has done a wonderful Thing, for in that Paper he has mentioned the Perquisite as being in excess to the Revenue of the State. That the Fact is, that whatever is realized from the Country is the Property of the State. Money rains not from the Heavens, neither does it grow upon the Earth. But, even if he had created a new Item, it would have been something. In Muhuls, from which he saw he could not realize this Money, he reduced the fixed Jumma of those Elakas 5 per Cent., and substituted his own Perquisites.

With respect to his saying that he has carried it to the Credit of the Government, it is all Deceit, for a great Sum of Money under his Head of Russoom or Perquisite has been appropriated by him on account of the Perquisites. What has been deducted in the Treasury he has had credited in his own Name. To disprove his Statement, the Contents of the Firman of Perquisites (Copy of which is enclosed) are sufficient. If he intended

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

* The King must have forgotten when he wrote this Paragraph, that long after his Discussion was over he treated the Minister with the highest possible Favour. His Majesty would not even explain the Minister's Arrangement, though often requested to do so.

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(continued.)

to bring it to the Credit of Government, why should he have had it written in this Style, and why should he have preserved it to this Day like a Charm for Life? This small State cannot allow that more or less than Fifteen Lacs should be given to this Man as Perquisites of Office on Receipts and Disbursements, and that he should remain Minister, independent of the Salary of his Relations, which amounts to above a Lac of Rupees annually.

Thirdly.—The most glaring Embezzlement that any former or present Officer can have been guilty of is this: Of the Money, which he took out of the old Treasury and left it empty, he publicly took away to his own House at Two different Times the Sum of Rupees 22,17,864*, and wrote the Money in the Accounts for the Purchase of Notes (Government Securities). On Inquiries being made, it was found that no Notes were received by the Government; and from his Answer, on being questioned, it appeared that he had appropriated the Money.

When a Minister in Appearance claims to himself the Merit of Honesty, Satiety of Money, and Integrity, and is in fact guilty of such extreme Dishonesty, his Continuance in Office is inconsistent with the Safety of the Treasury.

Fourthly.—In return for these Acts of Kindness on my Part, the harsh Expressions which he used in the Presence of my Servants towards many Members of this august House behind their Back, and which have been proved, can be established on Oath by Witnesses who heard them. Leaving this out of the Question, he removed aside the Veil of Shame and Modesty; he fearlessly made Use of Expressions to my Face the mildest of which I mentioned to you at the private Audience.† It is evident that the Shame of the middle Classes would not allow them to hear such Expressions applied even to their Equals, and much more to their Superiors; nay, to their Sovereign and Prince. When he had made use of such Expressions I ought to have punished him instantly. His Honour emanated from my Government. His old Age, and my natural Propensity to passing over Things, restrained me; but, since that Time, I can never, no never, reconcile myself to see his Face, much more to allow him Sway over a whole People, and to

A few Observations by the Resident.

* I asked Tajooddeen for an Explanation of this Accusation, who gave the following Account of it: He says it was not Twenty-two Lacs, but Twenty, that the Minister got from the old Treasury, for the Purpose of paying up the Arrears due to the Troops, without which he could not even commence Reform; and he promised in lieu of that Money to pay into the old Treasury Twenty Lacs of Government Paper, the Property of the late Mountumud oo dowlah, and now in the Resident's Treasury. That Money was deposited here by Mr. Maddock to answer Claims which might be proved against him; and the Minister, having no Doubt that still larger Claims would be proved, promised to the King's Treasurer (Captain Fulleh Allee Khan) that he should have that Twenty Lacs of Paper in lieu of the Money issued for Payment to the Troops.

† The King mentioned no particular Expressions to me. He merely mentioned that he had positive Information of the Minister having given bad Names to his Mother the Padshah Begum.

treat him as a Friend and constant Companion.

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

You will often have been surprised to think how this Man could have ventured to take so unwarrantable and so dangerous a Liberty. The taunting unfounded Expressions which he has applied towards his late Majesty, my revered Father, in some of the Letters, will be sufficient and copious Argument in favour of his Criminality in this Respect. Send for them from your Office; see them, and no Doubt will again remain in your Mind of his Presumption.

Fifthly.—It is a Fact that when a Person is appointed Minister in any State he takes care of his own Dependents; but as the Government of a Sovereign is constituted for the Benefit of the Public at large, Strangers are not excluded. This Man employed his own Dependents in all Matters, whether trifling or important; he discharged all the old Servants of the State, who had been born in the Household (or hereditary Slaves), so much so that he did not even wish my Hairdressers to retain their Situation; he was urgent with me to dismiss them, and had his own Hairdresser employed. It is evident, that when a Man thus attempts to surround another it is in fact his Imprisonment.

The Sixth is a Thing which has disgusted me altogether with him. That is, although a Minister enjoys Power, but Capital Punishment and Chastisement have not from Time immemorial 'till now been inflicted by any Public Functionary without the Authority of the Sovereign. The Law should first pass the Sentence, and then the Sovereign should issue his Orders.

It is also certain that to blacken the Face of a Man of Honour, and to make him ride an Ass on the public Roads, is worse than Death for him. During the Administration of this Man, who is in his very Nature cruel, this is become so easy a Matter that the smallest Offence subjects (a Person) to public Punishment by making him ride an Ass, leaving my Permission aside. Such a Proceeding was totally disagreeable to me, and I repeatedly told him to desist. He merely gave me this Answer; "If your Majesty wishes me to act do not at all interfere." I was obliged to keep quiet against my Inclination.

He lately made Gunga deen Moot-suddee go round in the City with his Face blackened, riding on an Ass, and

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(continued.)

Drums beating, merely for the Offence of his having returned a discharged Hurkura as being in the Service, this cannot constitute Forgery. It appears that somebody complained of this to you also*, and you made Inquiries of him; but it is to be regretted that you did not read the Proceedings sent by him with Attention, they proved that he committed such glaring Tyranny over an innocent Person. It would have been something if he had made this Tyranny, which he called Justice, alike applicable to all. The Case is, that he totally passed over the Acts of his own Dependents, Dya Nidhan, whom he had put at the Head of the Bukshee guree, or Paymaster's Department, did such a Thing as has never been done since the Creation of the World; namely, he by Forgery had nearly 4,000 Foot and Horse entertained, and had their Pay issued fraudulently by the Government. He did not send for him even one Day, and tell him any thing. On the contrary, he kept his Relations in the Pay Office as before, and his Son-in-law is to this Day employed Darogah of the Intelligence Department. In like Manner, if any of the former Aumils had any Intercourse with him, like Punendheur, the deposed Aumil of Khyrabad, though a Government Defaulter to the Amount of Lacs, he made him his Companion. Those against whom he had any Animosity were kept Prisoners, without any Offence, for Years, without being released.

It is still more disgusting that a Man of the Name of Moona Lall, who had farmed some of the Gunges, was a respectable Character, and a Writer, and had some Relish for the Medical Science, had, on Suspicion of stolen Property being secreted in his House, and his being implicated in the Theft, been beaten by a Chooree Wallo with Stripes. Though the Mootsuddy may have been guilty of Oppression towards an innocent Man, but be it taken into Consideration what would be the Punishment awarded to such an Offence in British Courts, which are proverbial for Justice;—no more than a Fine or Imprisonment for a few Days. He (Moonteezimoodowlah) first made him naked, and had his Back cut to Pieces with whipping by the Hands of the Chooree Uller. Not content with this, he ordered him to be publicly exposed. He was carried at the Chubootra of every Gunge of this large City, and beat with Lashes. It

A few Observations by the Resident.

* This is a complete Mistake; no one complained to me, for it was a Matter in which I had nothing to do. I heard accidentally, after the Punishment was over, that the Offence had been but a trifling one; and I mentioned the Report to the Minister, not officially, but as a Mark of the friendly Interest I took in his public Acts. The Nawaub denied that the Offence was a trifling one, and sent to me his Persian Proceedings in the Case, and the Impression on my Mind, from a hasty Perusal of the Papers, was, that the Punishment, though severe, was not unjust, and that its having been inflicted would probably be of Public Utility. Nevertheless, I certainly think that the late Minister was *occasionally* too harsh in his Punishment, and *often* too harsh in his Manners and Language, when but trifling Errors were committed; and the latter Failing has I think indirectly furnished one of the chief Means to his Enemies for effecting his Downfall.

It is said I
Life: you* encl^{re} that he did not lose his

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

If People who are fond of such Cruelty were to be intrusted with the full Power over the People of God, what Answer, at the final Day of Judgment, would be given to God?

Seventh.—This Man is addicted by Nature to committing Forgery, which will have been made known to the Officers of the British Government by some of his Proceedings. One of those is the Will of the late Sheems-oo-dowlah, which he prepared and sent to the Assistant Resident in the Official Note of the 6th Rubbee ool Awul 1247 Hijree. At least he could not answer the Letter from Heezriet Begum, which was enclosed in your Official Note of the 6th Jumadee ool Awul 1247 H.—could not think of an Answer.

When a Minister is habitually given to Forgery, and ventures to commit Forgery (which is the worst of every thing) when of no Benefit to him, God knows what Forgery would he (not) be guilty of when necessary, for the Injury of the Sovereign and his Country. How can a Man be safe from such a Minister?

The Eighth is a Point which makes a Person's Hair stand on End; it shows that such impudent Fraud can only have been committed by him, and no one else. The Particulars of it are as follows:—He requested me to give him the Title of "Nazim ool Moolk" "Sipahdar Jung." He was told Nazim ool Molk was the Title of my late revered Ancestor Nawab Saadut Allee Khan, and he (Moontuzim-oo-dowlah) was raised from the Dust by his Excellency, and it was neither proper for me to offer such an Insult, nor for him to accept of it, as it would expose him to Infamy in the World. He was also told that "Sepahdar Jung" had to this Day been the Title of my Uncle Nuseeroodowlah; that the same Title was never given to another Person while the one who enjoyed it was alive, from the Commencement of the World. As it was his Habit never to swerve from his Purpose, and as he had another Object in applying for this Title, as will be shown hereafter, he persevered, and had a fresh Seal engraved. As this Circumstance caused me much Agitation, it was ascertained, on Inquiry, that when he went out of this Country to Furruckabad he removed the Veil of Shame and Decency, and had these two Titles introduced.

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(continued.)

duced in his own Title from the King of Delhi, and had his Seal engraved at that Place. When he came here he concealed that he had received the Title of his late Excellency from another State, and made the Application to me.

A few Observations—resident.

But the most extraordinary Proceeding is this :—When his late Excellency (Saadut Allee Khan) died the most Noble the Marquis of Hastings was in his Journey, and had arrived at Allahabad; he (Moontuzim-oo-Dowlah) wished to wait on his Lordship on the Part of his late Majesty; Consequently he was intrusted with a Letter to that Effect on the Part of his late Majesty; but Colonel Baillie, who suspected his Depravity, put a Stop to his Departure, and the Letter was returned. As this Man recollected this he caused another Letter to be written to the same Purport, with Praises to himself more than his own Rank and Circumstances deserved, had his late Majesty's Seal affixed to it by Forgery, and often showed it to Gentlemen to give Honour to himself. He did not stop here; he had it registered in the Court of Furruckabad, and as it is said that a Liar has a bad Memory, he was charmed with his own Honour and Dignity, and had the Word Nazim ool Moolk and Sepahdar Jung introduced where his own Name was written. He did not consider that nothing could exceed this Fraud, for neither would his late Excellency give his own Title to this Person while alive, nor would his late Majesty allow him to assume that of his Father when he had been dead only Two Months. There are Hundreds of his Urzees forthcoming in this Government in the Residency Office, and even in the Persian Department in Calcutta, which contain the Seal with the Inscription of Moontuzim-oodowlah Mehdee Allee Khan Buha-deer. Had he this Title from the beginning why should he have Occasion to apply for it afresh to me?

It is therefore an evident Fact that the Letter in question is a Forgery; and what Kind of Forgery is it? He made the late King the Writer of the Letter, and the Marquis of Hastings the Personage to whom it was addressed. He forged a Paper in the Names of these Two august Rulers. A Coincidence has put a Copy of this Letter, which is the Record of his Infamy and Disgrace, now in my Possession, under the Signature of the Register of the Court of Furruckabad, and

and I

you*enclose it herewith as it is. If I required this to be proved it will be incumbent on the British Government to punish this Fraud. At least such a Forger should be avoided.

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

Ninth.—The other childish Acts of this old Man make a Person blush.* He used to bring his Grandson's Child, aged Four Years, to the Presence, which I allowed him to do to oblige him. He then became urgent with me to adopt him as my Child, that it might prove prosperous to me, and that he might be in constant Attendance on me. Although there was no Occasion for this, yet his Requests were complied with, and the Boy was allowed to remain with me Night and Day. This Man made every Préparation for this Child. And what should he say one Day?—He said, that as the Boy had been adopted by me he should enjoy the Rights of a Prince. On hearing this I was exceedingly offended and thoughtful. It was certain that in every thing this Man had undoubtedly in view Royalty for himself and his Descendants. I therefore in a few put a stop to the Attendance of the Child, and ceased to distinguish him with Favour, which you will also have heard. You are well aware that what I have written is not for his Injury and Pain as an Invention of my own; it is all Fact; the Records of the Two Governments will bear Testimony to it.

For the Remainder also are Documents and presumptive Proofs which will leave no Room for Doubt. Each and every one of the foregoing Offences was sufficient for his Removal, and much more all of them collectively. Besides, his Offences are not confined to these alone. They have been mentioned in general, certainly, but not in detail.

Friendship requires that you should send a Copy and a very literal Translation of this Letter for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General.

* The King has been remarkable all his Lifetime for taking sudden and extravagant Partialities for Children, and his Fondness for this Boy was constantly displayed in such a Manner as to be inconvenient to the European Society at the Breakfast and Dinner Parties, where the Child was encouraged by His Majesty sometimes to mount on the Tables, at other Times to take Sweetmeats off Gentlemen's Plates, &c. all of which seemed to afford the greatest Amusement to his Majesty. It is highly probable that the Minister was pleased at seeing that his young Relative was so great a Favourite of the King; but as the Adoption of an Heir by Sovereign Princes is not admitted by the Mahomedan Law when any near Relations are living, no impartial Person could suppose for a Moment that a Man of such Intelligence and Information as Moontuzimoodowlah could have entertained such an Idea as that his young Relative could have been adopted as a Prince of the Oude Family.

(True Translation.)
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

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(continued.)

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from his Majesty the King of OUDE to the Address of Major Low, Resident at Lucknow, dated 15th Rubbee-ool-Awul 1247 Hijree, corresponding with the 13th August 1832.

A few Observations by the Resident.

I HAVE received your Letter of the 9th Rubbee-ool-Awul (8th August), together with the Official Note of the same Date.

Although some Passages of this Letter (particularly some Expressions which have been used, most probably because they were literal Translations of English Words, and others could not be found,) would have made me take Offence; but as I am sure that you have a sincere Friendship for me, and that you are matchless in the Purity of Disposition and Openness of Heart, as well as for your Magnanimity, and what you have written arose entirely from your good Wishes towards, nay, zealous Attachment for the Presence (for me), instead of being offended or displeased, I have been very glad of it.

It is quite evident that I surpass my august Predecessors in consulting the Satisfaction of the British Government. From the Officers of that Government in general, and from yourself in particular, I entertain the Hope, that instead of the Pleasure of the Presence, the Pleasure of no one else shall be consulted. What you have therefore stated, that the Affair of Moontuzimoodowlah Mehdee-Allee Khan Bhadoor was upset by the Advice of Women, and at the Instigation of interested and seditious Men, it is probable, nay certain, you have done so agreeably to Representations which, owing to your Candour of Disposition, you have considered credible; but I protest that such is not the Case. On the contrary, his Removal was caused by the Injuries and Pains that I received at his Hands. and by his seeking my Ill, which has been seen, and which I passed over for a long Time; but at last I could not brook it, as has been made fully apparent to you by my Letter of the 12th Rubbee ool Awul 1248 (10th August). As you patronize Justice and Integrity, and discriminate Worth, you will be still more disgusted with him than I have been when you become acquainted with all Proceedings, which I have not to this Day mentioned.

I regret and am certainly sorry for one Thing; that is, you considered all his Statements correct, and never inquired into their Truth. What he reported

to you* of his Disgrace and Embarrassments, and about which you certainly wrote to me agreeably to his Representation, if it had the least Truth all his Statements would be worthy of Belief, otherwise it is necessary that you will never again give Credit to his Words. His Representation that People were interdicted from speaking to him, and he was ordered not to go out of the House, is a downright Falsehood, which makes the Hair of one's Head stand on End. God forbid that such should have been the Case! If any one should tell him, "that Man speaks Falsehoods," he mixes Ten Lies with One Truth, not that he should invent Falsehoods from Beginning to End from his own Mind.

The most important Method that he has pursued in his Statements is such as the following: "The Excess of his Devotion to your Majesty's Interests made him neglect acquiring a Friend for such a Day of Adversity." This makes me believe in a greater Degree that all these are his own Words, because he said the very same Thing, nay, the same Words, at least a Hundred Times to me. It is a very remarkable Circumstance that the Satisfaction of a Master and the Satisfaction of the World should clash against each other; or was so much Cruelty (God forbid!) natural to me, that it was impossible to gain my Satisfaction without making the Public at large his Enemy? No, I swear, by God, individually speaking, I do not wish to hurt an Ant even! and it is probable that Friends and Enemies will agree in this.

It is very surprising that your Khurbardar (Newsman) should have also mis-stated Facts. It would be improper to dwell upon his Pride and headstrong Acts which he has committed within these Four Days since he has been prevented from coming to the Presence. To be brief; he has made all his Servants wear Arms; he has sent from the late Gholaun Hoossain's House, where his Property was kept, some Maunds of Lead and Gunpowder, and distributed amongst them. All his Servants came in without Hesitation, and collected themselves together. Even admitting that these Allegations might be questioned, Dilere-oodowlah Mohummud Allee Khan Mirza Hyder came to him twice in one Day; Mr. Sinclair also visited him. His Nephew went to him whenever he liked, with a large Body of armed Men. In like Manner, his other Relations, contrary to Custom, visited him with large Re-

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A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

* What I have mentioned in my Letter was taken from Facts of public Notoriety, and many of them admitted by the King himself in his Conferences with me. I held no Communication with the Minister since the 4th Instant, and then in his Majesty's Presence.

tinues.

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(continued.)

tinues.* In consequence of my Orders the Doorkeepers did not venture to offer the least Obstruction. Can this be questioned? Is it possible that so many Persons should unhesitatingly come to one with whom nobody was allowed to speak, and who was interdicted from being visited? When such was the Case, what can Objections to conversing with him and visiting him mean? Gracious God! these Falsehoods and Circumstances are not such as should not have been seen by Hundreds of People with their own Eyes.

No Woman durst ever say a Word in State Affairs. There is not the least Doubt that I have as much Respect for my revered Mother the Padshah Begum as I had for my late respected Father. She is certainly displeased with him ever since he used, in the Presence of her Eunuch, Language which could never be made use of towards Men in the middle Ranks of Society. Nay, she is even tired of Life; but, besides, what Concern has she with the Affairs of the Government? If therefore all these Allusions of his, "Want of Sense," &c. are made towards her, they are Arguments of that Man's abusive Language. What fresh seditious People have been collected round me that he should make such a Clamour? I have called to my Presence some old Servants of this illustrious House, who had been selected by his late Excellency Saadut Allee Khan, and who had served my late Father. They are not such People that he should speak reproachfully of them. All this bears witness to his Desire of being permanent in Office, which has been before mentioned in the Letter alluded to; for he could never see any other Person come to me.

With respect to your writing that his Fault had been pardoned at the Audience of Saturday, the Case is this: When he returned from the Residency that Day†, what Allusions did he not make against me, in the public Durbar, which spoke Volumes, and which were heard by a great Number of Persons? When I heard this my Mind was in Flames, which were however quenched by the Water of Forbearance and Patience. I did not tell him any thing, but when he came to Court on Sunday Morning he was allowed Access, as usual, and sat in his usual Place. When he, however, heard that some of the Servants had been sent for, he said in the Plenitude of Pride, "If I had known that they were come I would never have attended," and without

A few Observations by the Resident.

* Positively false, if the Writer of this Letter means to say that the Relatives visited the Minister after Saturday the 4th, when the King breakfasted at the Residency. All the Nawab's Relatives and all Public Officers were prohibited from approaching his House on Sunday the 5th, and thus Matters continued till the Minister was dismissed, and removed to his own House in the City.

† This is altogether incredible. In the first place, no public Durbar was held on the Saturday; and, on the Sunday Morning, I was assured by several European Gentlemen in the King's Service that all the Court avoided the Minister, and that the King himself did not speak One Word to him, but sent him a Message* after Breakfast, through One of his Enemies (who had been released the preceding Evening from Confinement), to desire that he would remain in his own House till further Orders.

without taking Leave of me he returned to his Habitation, and did not come again of his own Accord. It did not even happen that he attempted to come to me, and some Person desired him to wait for my Permission. When he himself discontinued waiting upon me, I could not reconcile myself to the Meanness of calling him again with Supplication. I knew his Mind by the Words above mentioned, and came to the Resolution of removing him. It could not be concealed from one like yourself that the Affairs (Administration) of any State do not depend upon any (one) Individual. Even To-day such Men are to be found in the City of Lucknow that not the least Comparison can be made between him and them for Learning, Experience, Wisdom, and Knowledge.

When I have myself personally resolved to undertake the Administration of the Government, the Business of the State will go on very well through the Hands of any Person whom I may employ, consequently I have, under my own Seal and Signature, issued all those Orders which he did under his, just as if I had nothing to do with the Government Affairs. As to his taking Credit to him for good Management, it is so far true that a Stop has been put to Affrays in the City, especially during the Ten Days of Mohurram, through his Means. Whatever Cruelty he may have been guilty of himself, no Person durst tyrannize upon another. But when the wearing of Arms has been discontinued any Koatwal that has Capacity can effect this. To advert to this Thirst after Blood,—the Number of Lives lost in the Affair of the Golundauzes* by his improper Measures would not have been taken even by Affrays in the City in Three or Four Years. To state the real Facts of this Case would be too tedious.

To this Day there has been no Reform in the Country, because the Object of Reform is the good Management of Elakas; grounded on proper Revenue Settlement with Zemindars for a fixed Period. This has not been effected. The Mode of annual Assessments, nay, periodical Settlements, still prevails as it did before. The Clamour that he raised about the personal Attendance of Talookdars for his own Reputation was mere Sophistry. The Fact is this. Of the Talookdars that came to the Capital, some
(130.) were

* This Matter was fully reported at the Time it occurred, but I may mention that the Fact of the Mutiny having been caused by the Padshah Begum and Moozuffer Ally Khan was not only generally known here, but I was informed of the Fact by the *King himself*, who then said he had refused to see his Mother in consequence.

No. 64. were in attendance here, and some
(continued.) had been sent for through the
Security of other Persons. He was
very liberal to them. For instance,
Pirthee Paul Sing, the Talookdar of
Huraha, whose Talooka can yield
Three Times the assessed Revenue*,
has his Lease for less than what Soh
Beharee Saul realized when he had the
Talooka, though he was a Banyan, and
his Authority was weak.

† If, with such Security, and Liberality
in the Loss of the Jumma, all the
Talookdars should be summoned, who
is there that would not come?

Dan Buhadeer Sing, Talookdar of
Toolseepoor in Bahraitch, certainly
came of his own Accord. The Particu-
lars of his Case are to the following
Effect: When the Khan (meaning Moon-
tezimoodowlah) had the Management
of Baraitch in his late Majesty's Reign,
the Talookdar was very young, and
this Man used to call him Son. When
he was removed from the Collectorship
the Talookdar kept up an Intercourse
with him when he was at Furruckabad;
in consequence of this Intercourse he
attended when called. In return for
this his Liberality to the Talookdar
was very curious, and contrary to the
Customs of this Government, and mili-
tating against its Interest. Although
his Talooka can yield Four Times the
Revenue, and there are large Tracts of
Arable Land, he has given† this Talooka
at its present Jumma in perpetuity
Generation after Generation; not con-
tent with this he has increased the
Nanker also.

The Tract of Land at the Foot of
the Hills denominated Rughut, which
the Marquis of Hastings took from the
State of Nepaul, and kindly made over
to this Government, he has in Zemin-
daree Right to him, though it was
farmed to him. What can be more
contrary to the Rules of the Govern-
ment, injurious to the State, and an
Instance of his uncontrollable Will?

In short, he considered himself as
a King and the Sovereign of the State.
He did himself what would become
Princes alone.‡

The Wausil Baukee Accounts of
the Kingdom are not ready yet, other-
wise it would have been ascertained
how much Decrease there has been in
the Revenue of the Country.

¶ The following is an Instance:—There
has been a Loss of Two Lacs of Rupees
in the Chuckla Rusoolabad, which
yielded Five Lacs annually, owing to
Defalcation

A few Observations by the Resident.

* I consider this lowering of the
Assessment as positive Praise to the
Minister.

† I cannot speak positively on this
Point, but I this Morning questioned
Tajooddeen on the Subject, who gave
the following Account of it:—He said
that the Talookdar's Ancestor had a
Sunnud in perpetuity from Shoojoo oo-
dowlah, and that it was never resumed
by subsequent Viziers, but that the
Man had been refractory for many
Years 'till lately, and that as he con-
ducted himself in peaceable Manner
since Moontuzim-oo-dowlah's Appoint-
ment to be Minister, he had obtained
a Confirmation of his old Sunnud,
but with the full Consent of the King
when the Sunnud was issued.

‡ The Minister's acting chiefly from
his own Authority was absolutely ne-
cessary, because the King would not
act. Since my Arrival at Lucknow the
Minister frequently, in my Presence,
solicited the King to attend more to
Public Business, saying that he (the
Nuwab) was an old Man, subject to
frequent Illness, and that the King
ought to prepare himself for the Time,
which could not be distant, when the
Nuwab could no longer assist him;
but his Majesty constantly rejected
such Advice, and was even vexed at
any Allusion of that Nature.

Defalcation of Revenue, and caused Assessment*; the same is the Case with Khyrabad, in which there has been great Loss of Revenue from the same Causes.

In short, wherever there are former Aumils, Things have remained right, as they did before; but when this Man sent new Aumils, Ruin prevailed.

As to what you say, that certain Occurrences have happened within this Week, the Case is, that Saturday the 6th Instant (4th August) there was no Difference in his Authority in this City.† If, therefore, there has been any Disorders in the Country, they must have taken place during his Administration, if there have been any Accidents in the Interior, News would have been received according to the Distance of the Place.

In every Country and in every Reign in the World, some strange Occurrences take place. It is not in the Power of Sovereigns to be answerable for changing the Nature and Disposition of Man; this is an Attribute of the Deity. Sovereigns are certainly responsible for the Punishment of Crime, and this certainly reduces Sedition and Accidents.

If you will refer to the Correspondence in your Office between the Two Governments, respecting the Chucklas of Sultanpore, Pertaubgur, and Akberpoor, from the Time of his late Excellency 'till the latter End of his late Majesty's Reign, and make Inquiries of Persons who speak the Truth, it will appear that from Delhj to the Country of Bengal there is no Elaka so turbulent as these Chucklas. The People in them are naturally seditious and turbulent, and seek Disorders. Owing to some Causes, the Removal of Rajah Durshim Sing was rumoured. This caused Disorders in some Places; otherwise, if seen with the Eyes of Justice, it will be found that the Degree to which Sedition has been repressed in these Elakas will never have been experienced. Abool Moonsoor Khan Buhadeer and Sufdur Jung (the King's Ancestor) quartered their Army in those Chucklas, so much so that they removed it to Paufer Ghaut. Ever since the Times of the late Nuwabs Shooja-oo-dowlah and Asuf-oodowlah, until the Reign of his late Excellency the Vizier, was there ever a Year in which Ten or Twenty Battles were not* fought between the Aumils and Zemindars in those Quarters. This is so well known that no Room

A few Observations by the Resident.

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(continued.)

* This, in my Opinion, is a further Proof of the Wisdom of the late Minister's Measures.

† On the contrary, the King's own Proceedings destroyed the Authority of the Minister in the City; although up to that Date the Minister was not formally displaced.

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(continued.)

is left for Doubt. Contrary to the present Times, when, during a Period of Five Years, with the Exception of a limited Number of Places, there has been no fighting.

Besides, I am by no means negligent on this Subject. I shall take decisive Measures. Be you satisfied.

With regard to the Transmission of the Letter for my illustrious Uncle the Right Honourable the Governor General in Praise of him (Moontuzim-oodowlah), and afterwards you having reported his Removal; it was a Pain of Mind about which I have forgot to write to you. You have yourself brought to my Recollection the Regret I felt on this Account, not at all less than I did on other Occasions, because he had adopted a most amazing Plan, which no Person ever pursued, whether rich or poor, in any Age; that is, though there may have been little Occasion, there will have been very few Letters for his Lordship in which he did not enlarge in his own Praise. There is a Limit to Egotism. It may be said that he gave me the Office of his Eulogist. Even if this had been the Case, I would not have written so much in his Praise; because when he was urgent for this very Letter being written he was told that the Resident had as yet made a verbal Communication only; no Letter had been received; when it is received an Answer would be written. He would not listen to this, but eventually draughted out a long and broad Letter, and constrained me to write it, as was his Custom. I was, however, so much disgusted that I would not even hear it read.* Although; therefore, the Presence does not disown the Letter as being mine, because it bore my Seal, yet Justice will find out that he was himself the Eulogist, the eulogized, and the Writer.

As he was bent from the Beginning upon Embezzlement, he had adopted an admirable Plan of not sending most of the Accounts to the Office; he did not even apprise the Government Officers, and thought proper to write and present what he liked. He himself explained their Contents to me, and had them signed. He did not consider, that if another Person had laid out the Money, and he had the Paper signed, the Signature would have been sufficient, but even in that Case the Minister would have been answerable for Right and Wrong.

I admit that the Presence can read and write, by the Blessing of God, as much

✓ * I am under the Necessity of contradicting his Majesty here, for it so happened that he read the Letter in a remarkably public Manner, altering some Expressions in order to make them still stronger Terms of Praise of his Minister. This was exactly of a Piece with his Majesty's Conduct previously to dismissing Moatumudoodowlah, when, after having made up his Mind, in Presence of Lord Combermere, to dismiss and disgrace him, his Majesty was lavish in public in his Praises of his intended Victim.

much as is necessary, but I am not versed in Arithmetic. This is not the Case with me alone; very few of the Sovereigns will have Knowledge of this Science. With all his Penetration, his late Majesty left all State Affairs on the Responsibility of his Officers.

He, Moontuzim oo-dowlah, did not consider that he expended the Money himself; he wrote out the Accounts without their being examined in the Office, and he had the Papers signed himself. If there is any Fraud in the Accounts, how will he not be responsible for it? Nay, there are Two Crimes; the one, that he has committed Fraud, and the Second, that he obtained my Signature by Fraud. This is so notoriously known that it need not be mentioned.

As to your Request that he should be allowed to go away with Honour, as he is old, and has been raised from the Dust by me, it was never my Wish to hurt or disgrace him. Consequently, you will have learned from what has been already stated, as well as from a Third Person, that he and his Relations have been allowed to depart without Molestation; so much so, that agreeably to your Recommendation he was immediately permitted to leave my House and go to his own, with all his Property. His Request for Carriage was also complied with, so that he went to his own House at leisure with all his Property; nay, he also took away my Money and Property which was entrusted to him. But from the Commencement he performed all the Business of the Government himself; even Things worth Three or Four Rupees were purchased by himself; besides which, he had all the Collections from the Country in his own Hands; he took away from the old Treasury the Sum of 1,07,26,929 Rupees. He had, moreover, charge of Property belonging to the State to the Amount of Lacs, as will have appeared to you from his own written Voucher, under his Seal; which was sent to you by the Hands of Htipaul Hoosain Khan, your Moonshee*, and which you returned after Inspection. You kindly stated in your Official Memorandum of the 8th August 1832, "that there is no Occasion for my Advice on this Subject, because Moontuzimoodowlah is the King's Servant, and not mine." Notwithstanding that he has no Dependence or Claim upon the British Government, I will even reconcile myself to his Departure, but you, who are my

(130.) sincere

*. I sent my Letter to the King of the 8th August by the Hands of the Residency Head Moonshee, but I did not send any Message to the King along with it. His Majesty, however, entreated the Moonshee to bring and show to me an Urzee from Moontuzim oodowlah, complaining that the Guards over a Number of Boxes containing Jewels and other valuable Property had been suddenly removed, and saying that they might be sent

Q q back

No. 64. sincere Friend, and entirely the
(continued.) Guardian of this Kingdom, will never
allow the Money of this Government,
which amounts to a great Sum; even
for the present Time to be lost. Let
him first render the Accounts of the
State, for the Mootsuddies have been
ordered to prepare the Demands
against him and his Officers, and he
may then take his Departure, after
rendering the Accounts. If he should
be in any Hurry to go away, I will
consent to this also, provided he will
deposit Money in Cash for the De-
mands of the Government, which will
be ascertained after the Papers shall
have been prepared; or let him give
Security, and leave a Person in his
Place, for the Purpose of rendering
Accounts, and he may then go away
when he likes.

Friendship requires that you send
this Letter, with a complete Trans-
lation of it, to the Right Honourable
the Governor General, accompanied
by my Letter, which is very brief, to
his Lordship.

A few Observations by the Resident.

back for Security's sake, stating also
that several Lacs of the Property in
question belonged to his Majesty, and
the rest to the Minister himself.

In order that there should be no
Mistake or future Misrepresentations
on such a Subject connected with my
Duties, I sent back the Urzee to the
King by my Assistant, who by my
Desire informed him that I had no-
thing to do either with the King's
Property or the Ministers; that I would
take no Concern in the Adjustment
of Moontuzim oodowlah's Accounts;
that the Nuwaub was still in the
Palace, and that I would make no
Demand or Request respecting the
Period of his Detention there.

It was about Thirty-six Hours after
the above Communication was made
to the King by Lieutenant Paton that
Moontuzimoodowlah was permitted
to proceed to his own House in the
City.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Enclosures in the foregoing.

A Firman granting Five per Cent. from the Receipts and Disbursements of
the Country.

An Order from the Minister, conveying a Copy of the foregoing Firman to
all Public Officers, (Enclosure in Lieutenant Paton's Letter to Mr. Prinsep,) dated

A Copy of a Letter addressed by the late King to the Marquis of Hastings,
expressive of his Majesty's great Desire for a Meeting with the Governor
General, and deputing Moontuzim-oo dowlah "Nazim ool Moolk" Mehdee
Alle Khan Buhadoor "Sepuhdar Jung" to wait on his Lordship.

N.B. This Copy is on Stamp Paper, and is attested as follows:

"Presented for Registry between the Hours of Four and Five the
"4th October 1822, and the Original and Copy being compared, entered
"No. 513, Page 57, Book 2, Deeds of Bonds, etc. etc."

Zillah Court, Furruckabad,
8th October 1831.

(Signed) H. SWETENHAM,
Officiating Register.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) D. Home,
Acting Register.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) J. Low,
Resident.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

No. 65.

No. 65.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to
the Governor General, dated 8th September 1832.

STATES that since the Resident's last Report a considerable Change has taken
place in his Majesty's Mind respecting the efficient Management of his Country;
reports the Construction put upon the Governor General's Letter by the new
Advisers,

Advisers, and the Consequences of such Misrepresentations; viz. Restoration to the Farm to Durshim Sing, projected Farm of Baraitch to Welayet Allee Khan, instigating the late Minister's Servants to leave him, putting a new Tax upon Cloth manufactured in Oude, and the consequent Proceedings of Weavers and Merchants, transmits Copy and Translation of a Letter to the King; inclosing an Extract from Mr. Macnaghten's Letter to the Resident dated 15th Ultimo; mentions the Reasons which induced the Resident to do so, and the Sensation created by it in the Durbar; states that Soobh'un Allee Khan's Influence is on the Decline; that the Promise of Farm to his Brother Welayet Allee Khan has been withdrawn, and that Orders have been given that the Complaint of the Weavers shall be investigated.

No. 65.
(continued.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 66.

No. 66.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. dated 8th Sept. 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

My Report of the 23d Ultimo will have apprized the Right Honourable the Governor General that his Lordship's Letter to the King of the 13th of that Month, and my Conference with his Majesty on delivering it, had some useful Effects.

3. I regret, however, to state, that in the course of a few Days after the Date of that Report a considerable Change took place in his Majesty's Mind as to the Necessity of managing his Country with Efficiency, and the Danger to himself in the Event of its being again thrown into a State of Disorder.

3. This Change was brought about by the Flattery and Misrepresentations of his new Advisers, and particularly so by Soobhaun Allee Khan, whose chief Duty it is to read and explain to the King all Letters from the Governor General and the Resident, and to prepare the Answers.

4. I already mentioned the Feelings of the King (as far as I could ascertain them) in consequence of the Governor General's Letter, and of my Explanation of his Lordship's Sentiments, and I also reported the Orders that his Majesty issued throughout the Country, apparently in consequence of the Warnings which had been given to him.

5. Two Days, however, after these Orders had been issued, the King delivered to Soobhaun Allee Khan, Rajah Nuwah Ram, and Moozuffer Allee Khan, the Governor General's Letter of the 15th Ultimo; he informed them also of the Explanations that I had given to him respecting the Allusion in the last Sentence of his Lordship's Letter, and desired them to prepare a proper Answer to be addressed to his Lordship.

6. When the above-mentioned Party had finished reading the Governor General's Letter they waited upon his Majesty, and congratulated him upon the Arrival of such a Letter, presented Nuzzurs on the happy Occasion, (as they termed,) and assured him that they would prepare such an Answer as would entirely satisfy the Governor General, while his Majesty's own Views, both present and future, would be fully accomplished. They also pointed out to the King that his Lordship made no Allusion whatever in his Letter to the Mysore Country; that even the Word "Mysore" was not to be seen in it; and that what the Resident had said in regard to the Mysore Country must have been entirely a Scheme of his own, with a view to annoy and alarm the King.

7. I should not have taken any Notice of these Follies if further Information had not reached me regarding the Effects of such Misrepresentations on the Mind of the King, and consequently on the Acts of his Government, some of which I proceed to relate.

8. Some Time ago it had been settled by the late Minister, with the Consent of the King, that Rajah Durshim Sing, a Man long notorious for his Tyranny and Oppression, should be removed from his extensive Farm in the Southern Part of this Kingdom, and he had actually been summoned to Lucknow a few Days before the Minister was deposed, and Proclamation had been issued in the District that it was to be made Amanee in the course of the present Month.

8. When Durshim Sing heard of the Dismissal of Moontuzim oo Dowlah he did not come to Lucknow, as he had originally intended, but sent his Emissaries to endeavour by bribing the new Advisers to have a renewed Lease of his District.

(130.)

9. The

No. 66.
(continued.)

9. The new Advisers accordingly recommended the King to continue Durshim Sing in his Farm, and assured his Majesty that Moontuzim oo Dowlah had intended to remove the Rajah from a Feeling of Enmity alone, and not for any Fault on the Part of the latter; but the King, knowing that the Rajah's Oppressions were well known to me, for I had particularly detailed many of them to his Majesty, was at that Time afraid to comply with the Request of his new Advisers.

10. But the Dread above alluded to ceased after the new Constructions upon the Governor General's Letter by the present Advisers, who then carried their Point, and had the Rajah continued in his Farm by the King, who also sent a splendid Khillut to Durshim Sing on the Occasion.

11. It was further proposed by the new Advisers to remove the Amanee from the District of Baraitch, (which yields Seventeen Lacs of Rupees per Annum,) and to grant it in farm, nominally, to Welayet Allee Khan, but in reality, to his Brother Soobahun Allee Khan, who was to remain at the Capital; and the King had promised to comply with this Request of his new Favourite.

12. Some disreputable Proceedings were also commenced by the new Advisers of the King at the same Time towards Moontuzim oo Dowlah, especially that of bribing his old Servants to leave him, and in one Case to steal his Receipts and other Papers. The King encouraged the Desertion of the Servants*, in order to gain minute Intelligence of the Minister's past Conduct, but I found that his Majesty had sufficient Sense of Honour (or Shame) to order the late Minister's Papers to be sent back to him.

13. About the same Date the King was further led to pass a new Regulation which levies a heavy Tax upon all Cotton Cloths brought into the City, and his Majesty appointed a Relation of one of the new Councillors to be the Darogha, or Superintendent, of this hitherto unprecedented Source of Revenue. The Regulation above noticed caused tumultuous Meetings and Protests from the Merchants and Weavers of this City, who still continue daily to assemble at all the Gates of the Palace, shouting for Redress.

14. As all the Acts noticed in the preceding Four Paragraphs seemed to me to have been indirectly caused by the Power over the King which the new Advisers had acquired by their Misrepresentations connected with the Subject of the Governor General's Letter, I thought it advisable to write to His Majesty on the 28th Ultimo a Letter, of which I have now the Honour to enclose a Copy and Translation. The Governor General will observe that I have avoided any Mention in my Letter of the Folly of giving back the Farm to Durshim Sing, or of granting a new one to Welayet Allee Khan, nor did I object or even allude to any of the Measures above noticed. My Reason was this: I think it necessary to prevent the Possibility of the Oude Government being able to say that the King has been thwarted in his Proceedings, either as to Individuals or Measures, by the British Government. I only meant my Letter and its Enclosure as a more permanent and distinct Explanation of the last Sentence in the Governor General's Letter of the 15th Ultimo than I gave personally when I delivered that Letter to his Majesty, and a more formal Warning of the Consequences that must ensue to the King if he should permit his Country to fall into a State of Disorder and Oppression to his People; and having now given that Warning fully I shall abstain from any Repetition of it, unless the further Progress of Mismanagement of this Kingdom should cause my being instructed to do so by my own Government.

15. My Letter to the King, and the Extract† from yours which was enclosed in it, caused a great Sensation at the Durbar. Some Days were chiefly spent in Discussions how it ought to be answered, and Taujoudeen Houssain Khan told me that the King meant to deny that such Misrepresentations respecting the Governor General's Letter were even made to him. I merely said, in reply, that if the King did so I should be obliged to tell him all I had heard as to the Place where he received the Nuzzurs, and the Observations that passed on both Sides, &c. &c., which could not be very agreeable to His Majesty; but that

* The Servant here alluded to was a confidential Writer; the Box of Papers which he brought to the Palace was sent back to Moontuzim oo Dowlah, but the Writer received a Khillut, and was taken into the King's Service on a Salary of 200 Rupees per Mensem.

† The Extracts consisted of the 1st, 3d, and 4th Paragraphs of your Letter of the 13th Ultimo.

as my Letter was merely a friendly one to the King and his Advisers, it did not appear to be necessary to write any Answer at all; nevertheless, that they could of course write another *Book* if they liked (alluding to the great Length of the Two Letters to me of last Month); the Answer (I added) that his Majesty might write, was of no Consequence to Government. Since that Time Tajooden has told me that the King does not mean to answer my Letter at all, and, further, has delivered a Message to me, that his Majesty feels much Obligation to me for the last Paragraph of my Letter, which mentions my having reported to Government the Circumstance of the Police in the Five Coss Country having been re-established on its former Footing.

16. Tajooden also reports to me that Soobhan Allee Khan's Influence is somewhat diminished of late, and that the King has, for the present at least, withdrawn his Promise to give the District of Baraitch (now under the Amanee System) to Soobhaun Allee's Brother Welayet Allee Khan.

17. The Weavers and Merchants are still making loud Complaints, and have shut up their Shops; and they last Evening endeavoured to stop my Carriage in the Streets. This I understand was reported to the King (but not by me); and I hear that the principal Men among the Cloth Merchants have now been summoned to the Palace for To-morrow Morning, when their Complaints are to be investigated.

According to the best of my Information the King is again considerably alarmed lest his Affairs should fall into Confusion, and personally anxious to prevent it, but quite determined not to recall his late Minister to Office, though at the same Time much at a Loss whom to appoint in his Stead.

Lucknow Residency,
8th September 1832.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from Major J. Low to His Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated
28th August 1832.

Compliments.

I HAVE ascertained that since I saw you last at Furuh Buksh several Persons have congratulated you on the Arrival of the late Letter from the Governor General, and with a view to flatter your Majesty have declared that his Lordship's Letter conveys nothing but what must be most satisfactory and pleasing to your Majesty. It is also currently reported in the City that the Persons above alluded to presented Nuzzurs to you on the Occasion of the Governor General's Letter reaching you, and that they told you that his Lordship made no Allusion to the Mysore Country, and that what I said to your Majesty on that Subject must have been from myself only.

I am sure that your Majesty knows my Character better than to give Credit to such Stories; but nevertheless I think it advisable now to enclose an Extract from the Letter to my own Address from the Secretary to the Governor General, which reached me along with the Letter of the 15th Instant to your Majesty, because, since you have shown his Lordship's Letter to several of your Attendants, I think it right to give you an Opportunity, if you wish it, of showing to the same Persons who have read his Lordship's Letter the Extract from my Letter also; when they read the enclosed Extract, and understand its Contents, they will I trust act in such a Manner as will tend to the Benefit of your Kingdom. But, above all, I recommend you to read attentively the enclosed Extract yourself, and to judge of it properly for yourself.

I sincerely wish for your Prosperity, and that of your Kingdom, both now and, in future, and I therefore earnestly hope, that, reflecting fully on the Governor General's Sentiments, you will see the Necessity of devoting your Mind to the Management of your Country with Efficiency and Justice.

I have derived Gratification from learning that your Majesty has ordered the Re-establishment of the Police in the Five Coss Country on the same Footing as in the Time of Moontuzim oodowlah. Your Majesty has acted with much Wisdom in adopting this Measure, and I have reported to the Governor General that your Majesty has issued this Order.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 66. EXTRACT of a LETTER written by Mr. Secretary MACNAGHTEN to the Resident
(continued.) at Lucknow, by Order of the Governor General, on the 15th August 1832.

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge the Receipt of your Two Letters dated respectively the 2d and 4th Instant, respecting the Estrangement which has taken place between the King of Oude and his Prime Minister Moontuzim oo dowlah Mehdi Allee Khan.

The Concern which his Lordship sincerely feels on this Occasion has been declared at some Length in the accompanying Letter, which you are requested to deliver to his Majesty. It will not fail to occur to you that the Allusion in the concluding Sentence of that Letter refers to Mysore. His Majesty has probably heard of our actual Assumption of the Government of that Country, and you will avail yourself of this Topic to impress upon his Mind the Consequences which a similar State of Things must entail upon himself.

His Lordship cannot but apprehend the most calamitous Consequences to his Majesty should he be so rash and ill-judged as to divest himself of the Aid of his present able Minister, and although, in pursuance of the System of Non-interference with his Wishes hitherto acted upon, the Governor General will * not directly oppose such an Intention, yet he considers it no more than an Act of Friendship to advise his Majesty of the probable Consequences of its Fulfilment.

(True Extract and Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) George Swinton,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

No. 67.

No. 67.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 9th September 1832.

REPORTS the King's Remark respecting the late Minister's grand Nephew, and the Resident's Answer; states that his Majesty sent a Message to have his Letter of the 10th August recalled for Alteration, which was refused by the Resident, unless the King made the Request personally or by Letter; gives Reasons for sending this Answer; the King's Advisers induce his Majesty not to recall the Letter, representing that the Governor General would be convinced by it in its original Shape of the Expediency and Propriety of dismissing Moontuzim oo dowlah.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 68.

No. 68.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 9th September 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

WITH reference to the 25th Paragraph of my Letter to your Address of the 23d Ultimo I now proceed to state what was mentioned by the King in respect to the grand Nephew of the late Minister. The King seemed to me to be anxious to bring forward some serious Matter of which to accuse his late Minister, and he then made a Remark to the following Purport; viz., that Moontuzimoodowlah had forced his grand Nephew upon his Majesty, and that the Minister's unjustifiable Object was, that the King should desert his own Relation, and bestow the highest possible Favour upon the Child, both now and in future, and that the Minister in so doing was guilty of Presumption and Ambition. His Majesty did not on the Occasion in question distinctly say to what the Minister's Views were directed in pushing the Child so forward.

2. I replied that I knew nothing of what the Minister's Views may have been in originally allowing his young Relative to take up his Abode in the Palace, where the Child had resided some Time before my Arrival here, and

* The Word in the Original was "could," but I made it "will" in the Persian, as rendering the Sentence suitable for the King's Perusal and Consideration.

up to the Time of the Minister's Dismissal, but that his Majesty ought not to tell me (who had witnessed his own Proceedings towards the Child) that any one forced him into his Majesty's Favour, because that Favour had been displayed on all Occasions in so remarkable a Manner, that all the Society, both European and Native, had remarked it, and that Brigadier Patton and other Gentlemen also had complained to me of the Inconvenience to which they were exposed at the Palace and at the Residency by the Tricks of the Child, evidently encouraged by the King himself. The King made no Reply to my Observation, and the Subject was immediately changed for the Discussion of the Public Business described in my Dispatch of the 23d Ultimo.

3. I should not have troubled you with any Mention of such very trifling Matters of what passed on this Occasion, had it not been the Cause of the King sending to me a Message by Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan, to say that his Majesty wished to have the long Letter of the 10th Ultimo back, with the View of altering that Part of it which related to the Child above alluded to, as the King thought that the Letter would be better without any Mention of the Child.

4. I replied that I thought the Letter would have been better without that Part, and many others also, but that I had already written to the Governor General's Secretary, giving an Account of the general Tenor of the King's Letters, and had promised to send Translations as soon as possible, so that it would be somewhat awkward now to send the Letter to the King; but that at all events; I would not give back the Letter in consequence of a verbal Message through Tajoodeen for this Reason, namely, that the present Advisers of his Majesty were Men capable of all Sorts of Misrepresentations, and they might afterwards say that I had improperly insisted on the King's taking back his Letter; I added, however, that if the King would either himself ask me to send the Letter to him, or write a Note to me to that Effect, I should have no Objection to let his Majesty have it back to make any Alterations he liked.

5. Tajoodeen told me next Day that he had delivered my Message to the King, but that his Majesty did not give any on the Subject.

6. On the following Day, however, Tajoodeen informed me that the King had consulted his Council respecting the proposed Alteration of the Letter to my Address, and that they seemed to have convinced his Majesty that his Letters to me were very excellent Papers throughout; that they would bring Conviction to the Mind of the Governor General that the Dismissal of the Minister was highly expedient and proper; and that no Part of them ought to be altered. The Copies and Translations of those Letters were accordingly forwarded to you on the 25th Ultimo.

Lucknow Residency,
9th September 1832.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

No. 69.

No. 69.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 24th September 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter of the 15th Instant, giving Cover to a Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor General to the King of Oude. I have this Day sent his Lordship's Letter to his Majesty, with a Note from myself, of which I now enclose a Copy and Translation.

Lucknow Residency,
24th September 1832.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from Major J. Low, to his Majesty the KING of OUDE, dated 24th September 1832.

After Compliments,

I BEG to enclose a Letter to your Majesty from the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated the 15th of this Month.

My earnest Hope now is, that you will give the fullest Reflection to the Governor

No. 69. Governor General's Warning at the Conclusion of the enclosed Letter, and that
(continued.) you will act with Prudence and Wisdom, and devote your Mind to the proper
Government of your Country.

(A true Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

No. 70.

No. 70.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to
the Governor General, dated 28th September 1832.

TRANSMITS a Letter from the King of Oude for the Governor General, accompanied with a Translation, and the Resident's Observations on it; notices some Alterations which were made in the Letter by his Majesty subsequently to its first Delivery to the Resident.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 71.

No. 71.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 28th September 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE herewith the Honour to forward a Letter from the King of Oude to the Right Honourable the Governor, with an English Translation; the Letter, I see, is dated the 19th, but it was only delivered to me on the 23d Instant.

2. It is proper to state the Fact that a Letter was sent to me by the King about Four Weeks since, but Two Sentences of it have now been struck out by his Majesty's Desire; the Cause of which I proceed to describe.

3. The original Letter to his Lordship (like the present one) was chiefly composed of Misrepresentation respecting the Conduct and Character of the late Minister, and if it had been confined exclusively to those Subjects I would not have taken any Notice of it to the King, for the same Reasons that guided me in resolving not to send any Reply to the Two long Letters addressed last Month to myself; but in the Letter to the Governor General my own Name was mentioned as having seen an Arzee (real or alleged) I never saw or heard of; and the British Government was also mentioned as having saved to the Oude State Nine Lacs of Rupees, which Moontuzim-oo-dowlah was accused of having taken, a Story altogether incomprehensible to me; and I therefore wrote to his Majesty a Letter, of which I now enclose a Copy and Translation.

4. A few Hours after I had sent the above-mentioned Letter to the King his Majesty requested me to visit him, and I did so accordingly on the following Forenoon, when his Majesty requested me to do him the Favour to send back his Letter addressed to the Governor General. "For I find," said the King, "that you are quite right; there are Two Mistakes in the Letter; I have inquired and ascertained that you never saw Bheem Sing's Arzee, and that the Nine Lac Story is all a Mistake. The Nine Lacs I alluded to in speaking to my Servants were those which I sent to your Treasury, the Interest of which was to be guaranteed to the Hukeem's Wife, and which I will not now consent to, and my present Servants misunderstood me; I did not desire them to introduce that Matter in the Letter to the Governor General; I therefore request you now to give me back the Letter."

5. I told his Majesty that as he requested it he should have the Letter back; I added, "You are much deceived if you think that I only saw Two Mistakes in your Letter to the Governor General; but I only mentioned in my Letter to you Two Mistakes, in which the Name of the British Government and my own Name were mentioned in a Manner contrary to Fact."

6. I took this Opportunity also of warning the King of the Difficulties in which he might involve himself, and the Loss of Character he would sustain, if he wrote Letters to the Governor General containing Matters contrary to Facts. He replied that he would take great care in future, but his Manner convinced

vinced me that he did not by any means comprehend the full Value of the Advice, though he said at the same Time (and he was serious I imagine at the Moment) that he would alter the Letter entirely and make it a very short one. This, however, he has not done; he proposed it, I understand, and had a short Letter drafted out by Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan, but the Faction by which he is now surrounded overruled the new Proposal, and the Letter was delivered to me on the 23d as you now see it, and exactly as it was at first, with the Exception of the Two Sentences regarding which I call for an Explanation by my Letter to his Majesty.

No. 71.

(continued)

Lucknow Residency,
28th September 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from his Majesty the KING of OUDE to the Address of the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated 23d Rubbee Oosanee 1248 H., corresponding with the 19th September 1832.

After Compliments,

A few Observations by the Resident.

LET it not be concealed from your Lordship that the Pleasure I derived on the Receipt of your Lordship's Letter of the 15th August 1832 removed some Depression of Spirits which I had felt, because this Letter, replete with your Lordship's Kindness, contained Volumes of your Lordship's Favours, and every Sentence consisted of Kindness, inasmuch as your Lordship's Displeasure on the Removal of Mehdee Allee Khan arose from your great Regard for me, that is, from your Anticipation of Disorders in my Country; and this has afforded me Peace of Mind.

Your Lordship's Observation, that "it is well known that I did not interfere in the Appointment of a Minister, and did not comply with your Majesty's Request when I had the Pleasure of a personal Interview with your Majesty last Year at Lucknow, and when your Majesty applied to me to confer the Khelut of Office on Nowab Moontuzim oo dowlah, to prevent the World from supposing that in conferring the Mark of Distinction the Appointment was not the Choice of your Majesty, but that, on the contrary, it arose from the Interference of the British Government," and the Sentence "that the Administration of the Government of Oude rests solely on your Majesty; I do not wish to oppose your Majesty's Wishes," have imparted Confidence to me and conferred great Power and Authority on me in this State. It is impossible for me to be sufficiently grateful to your Lordship for this Condescension. May God preserve your Lordship in Power while the Planets revolve and the Stars last, with such Esteem and Magnanimity,

(130.) and

No. 71. and regard to Friendship and good.
(continued.) Faith, and excessive Kindness.

A few Observations by the Resident.

After expressing my Acknowledgements I consider it necessary to state the Circumstances of the Case.

Some of the many Cases which made me displeased with the Conduct of the before-mentioned Person will have been made known to your Lordship from the Copies and Translations of the Letters I addressed to Major Low on the 13th and 15th Rubbee ool awal 1248 H.

I briefly state certain Circumstances which were not then mentioned. His Claim to Integrity and Justice, which he made public by various Means, and which he repeatedly caused to reach your Lordship's Ears, was nothing more than Sophistry. On the contrary, his Selfishness and Vanity are so notorious that there is no Occasion to describe them. Of all his Acts of Misconduct, which make the Pen ashamed while writing, this is one: He caused 52,000 Rupees to be paid by this Government for the Stipend of Syad Allee Muckee Khan, between whose Nephew Deloreoodowlah Mohummud Allee Khan and his Nephew there has lately been a family Alliance. Of this he paid 26,000 Rupees to Syad Allee Muckee Khan, and took 26,000 Rupees himself. Even the Resident has seen* the Khan's Petition to me and to him on this Subject.

He took in the Name of the Government One Lac of Rupees from the Grandson of Rae Dowlut Rae, who is an old Servant of the State, for his Release, and appropriated to his own Use the whole of the Amount, without giving a single Couree to the State. This has now been made known by that Person's Petition. Now that the Charm of his Power is broken there will scarcely be an Aumil or a Chuckladar from whom he may not have taken a large Sum as Bribe.†

The Reform of the Country has been cursorily dwelt upon in the Letters above alluded to; it is briefly as follows: when there is any Disorder in the Management of the Country it arises from the Farming System, and the Responsibility is attached to the Council, because the Farmers oppress the People from interested and mercenary Motives,‡ and the turbulent do not properly obey them. In fact, it is impossible to prevent Extortion, Oppression, and Cruelty, when the Country is farmed. In this Matter also he, Moontuzimoodowlah, has done a strange Thing,

* The King is so far correct here in saying "the Resident has *seen* the "Khan's Petition," that is, I saw the Outside of it, because the King sent it to me; but I did not read either, still less do I know the Truth of the alleged Contents of the Arzees. I returned them both, telling the King's Messenger that I had nothing to do either with the Petitioner's or Moontuzimoodowlah's Accounts. I understand that some Days after the original Letter from the King was sent to me, the Minister produced the Petitioner's Receipt in full for the Money, and that the Complaint was accordingly dismissed by the King's Advisers, who are examining Moontuzimoodowlah's Accounts.

† I am convinced that if the late Minister's Enemies who composed this Letter had ascertained any Bribes they would have specified them.

‡ It need scarcely be said, that this Remark on bad Effects of the Farming System is quite true, but what are we to think of the King's Conduct in expressing such Opinions and then acting in direct Opposition to them? About the very Time that this Letter was

Thing, as is his habit; namely, he certainly made Aumanee Two Thirds of the Chucklas of Rhyrabad, Mehumdee, Sandee, Sundula, and Bynour in 1239 Fusslee, and gave them all to his own Relations and Dependents. The rest of the Country remained in farm, so much so that he took away the Chucklas of Salone, Bahractch, and Byswurrah, which comprize One Third of the Kingdom, from the old Farmers, but again gave them in farm to others, and gave them nominally Amorerie Sunnuds.

In Salone, which is given in the Name of Bheem Sing, an inactive inexperienced Person, various Kinds of Confusion prevails*; other Muhals also, such as Byswurrah, &c., were not free from Disorders during his Administration. I cannot prevail on myself to direct your Attention to such Matters, otherwise Copies of the Intelligence Records on the Subject would have been enclosed in this Letter.

Let not your Lordship imagine from this that I do not give him Credit altogether for good Management. How could it be? For after all he is an aged Man, and from his Youth he was with some Aumils, and by degrees obtained the Rank of Chuckladur. How can such a Person be ignorant? But the Case is this, that his Egotism was often hyperbolical and strained.

Besides, few of his Acts will have been free from Selfishness; and it was his Habit to commit Acts of Force, which the Sovereign alone can exercise, and which suits him alone. May Heaven defend me of those Acts. One has been known from the Arzee of Bheem Sing. He directed him to kill Door-a Buksh, who was apparently charged with Dakoity and Robbery, and to hang him up in an Iron Cage; and the Fact, that he neither ascertained his Guilt, nor had a Sentence passed by the Law Officers; nor did he in the least inform me of the Circumstance, much less did he ask my Permission.

There are many similar Cases of his Temerity, and Love of Cruelty and Oppression; for he disgraced respectable People for the least Offence. He had Rumnarain, one of the Government Mootsuddees, scourged in public Durbars, without any Fault. His Language to my Servants was so gross and abusive that they were all tired of Life. I am not speaking metaphorically. The Day of his Removal from when he himself discontinued attending on me

was originally sent to me, the King restored Raja Durshim Sing to a very large Farm, (which had been publicly ordered to be taken from him by the late Minister,) although the Raja is a notorious Tyrant and Plunderer, as has been proved by a long course of Years.

* Here is another Instance in which the King's Conduct forms a lamentable Contrast to the Sentiments which he expresses; the Object of this Paragraph is to throw Blame upon the late Minister for his Selection of Bheem Sing, but the latter is also declared here to be unfit for his Office, and I have every Reason to think that the Assertion as to his Unfitness is but too correct. But it so happens, that previous to the late Minister being dismissed, every thing was arranged for depriving this Man of his Farm from the Tenth of *this* Month, and he was actually in Lucknow some Days before the Minister was dismissed, settling his Accounts with Moontuzimoodowlah, who was about to place the District under Amanee System. Bheem Sing, however, has since continued to gain Favour with the new Advisers, and he has been sent back to his Farm. It is proper, however, to notice that Bheem Sing has not as yet received a new Sunnud or Khelut, that is, he has not received a formal new Lease of his Farm, which Raja Durshim Sing has received.

No. 71. was a Day of Festival for the whole
(continued.) City.

Some of the Acts which he dared to be guilty of, and which were not suitable to the Dignity of my Government, will probably have been heard by your Lordship. It is better not to mention them.

In like Manner although the whole World is of one Voice, that he is worth more than a Crore of Rupees through the Means of this State, nevertheless his Teeth of Avarice were sharp to such a Degree that a little of his Care will have been made known by the former Letters.

But your Lordship will certainly be apprehensive that when this Man was the Servant, and not the Master, why should he have been so independent, and why should his Requests have been complied with, and when such was the Case how could he be blamed. At first Sight such is the Case, but if it be considered deliberately, it does not remove his Faults and Vices. In the first place, because it is proved hence that his Habit, his Nature, his Intention, his Determination, all rendered him unfit for the Ministerial Office, the Conclusion is this, if his Requests were not complied with, he would not have had the Power to commit Violence and Oppression. Secondly, if the Authority of former Mahomedan Princes be quoted from the very Commencement until the present Period, in all States (with few Exceptions) the Princes have trusted to their Ministers, and have given them Power. There is no Occasion to cite these Examples before your Lordship, who are so well acquainted with the Ancients and the Moderns.

Besides, every Man is obliged to act according to the Call of his own Nature. It has always been my Habit that when I have exalted any Person, and he has conducted himself amiss, I for some Time leave him entirely uncontrolled, and premeditatedly take no Notice, so that he may exceed all Bounds, and have no Way to escape.* It is probable that your Lordship's Discernment will not consider this Habit censurable, but the contrary.

Independent of this writing at such Length, as every Person has Consideration for outward Carriage agreeably to his Station in life, even if he had not one of those Vices in him, his overbearing Conduct and Asperity towards me was sufficient; even in the middle Ranks People are against such Managers,

A few Observations by the Resident.

* This Account which the King gives of his Habits towards his Ministers is remarkably correct. It is exactly what he has done towards each of the Six Ministers whom he dismissed in Five Years; instead of directing any Errors (real or supposed) to be corrected he has always deceived his Ministers by encouraging them in *all* their Acts, and by bestowing most extravagant Praises on them; and he then ordered their

less a Master and a servant; consequently for this Reason I could not reconcile myself to his Society, and how can it be that any one could suffer himself to be always slighted, and degraded in Conversation, and at Meetings.

In short, your Lordship's Solicitude for the good Management of this Government after his Removal proceeds from your Lordship's excessive Kindness; but be it known to your Lordship that I have now positively undertaken to manage my own Affairs, and to judge for myself of the Merits or Demerits of my Servants: it is probable your Lordship will have heard of this from the Information of a Third Person.

Of the Country which he kept in farm till 1239 Fuslee, such Parts as will admit of it will be made Amanee in 1240 F.; with the remaining I am resolved to do the same in 1241 F. Positive Orders are about to be issued to Chuckladars and Tehsildars to commence a quinquennial Settlement at a reasonable Jumma with Proprietors, and also with Mockuddurrs, &c. Why should there be a Distinction in the Five Coss Country Police? Thannadars will be re-established throughout the whole Kingdom; in consequence of which Orders have been sent on this Subject to Tehsildars to digest a Plan for the Establishment of Thannahs, and to submit it, that after it is corrected Orders may be issued for its being carried into effect.

When the Country is made Amanee, and Settlement is made with Proprietors, &c. for a prolonged Period, and Police Thannahs are established in the whole Country, why should there remain Cause for Disorder?

As many of the local Officers appointed by him have absconded from certain Elakas, if any untoward Accident should take place, and such is the Case sometimes everywhere, and such Circumstance should reach your Lordship's Ear, your Lordship will be pleased not to believe.

If I should think it necessary to ask for your Lordship's friendly Advice, or to get any Hints respecting the Settlement of the Country and Government, I should hereafter apprise the Resident of it.

A few Observations by the Resident.

No. 71.
(continued.)

their Downfall without hearing one Word from them in their Defence!— and his Majesty afterwards brings those very Acts (which he had himself encouraged) up against his Ministers as Crimes.

That the above Line of Conduct has been pursued by the King is a Matter of public Notoriety, but it is most wonderful that his Majesty should have been guilty of such Folly as thus gratuitously to record his own Habits of Duplicity!

(True Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Final Remarks by the Resident.

There may be some Parts of the King's Letter correct, especially in respect to the late Minister's Harshness in punishing Offences; but *all* the important Accusations I might have answered, and could at least have given strong circumstantial Proofs of their Inaccuracy.

Indeed, while the original Letter was being framed at the Palace, it was reported to me that Two of the Councillors argued against the bad Policy of inserting some of the Falsehoods contained in the Letter, because the doing so would injure the King; but it was argued by others that it could never injure the King, because the Hukeem not being guaranteed there would be no Inquiry into both Laws of the Question; and besides (said the more violent of the Faction) it is necessary to make out a strong Case against the Hukeem, to prevent the Governor General being vexed at his Dismissal.

It could not be in my Power to speak positively as to the many Accusations, unless I were regularly to investigate the Matter, or at least to send Copies of the King's Letter to the late Minister and see his Reply; but even the latter Procedure would not, I imagine, be considered proper in the Case of a Person not under a Guarantee; and I have, therefore, confined my Remarks to a few Facts only, on which I could speak positively from my own Knowledge.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

To his Majesty the KING of OUDE, 8th September 1832.

I HAVE the Honour to inform your Majesty, that I did not answer your Majesty's Two Letters, dated the 12th and 13th Rubbee ool awul, for Two Reasons; first, because if I had done so I must have noticed many Parts of them in a Manner which would have been very disagreeable to your Majesty; and secondly, my chief Motive was that as both the Letters related to the Removal of Moontuzim oo Dowlah, I thought it proper to be silent on a Matter which was past, and with which I had no further Concern.

I would have observed the same Course with respect to your Majesty's Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated the 3d Rubbee oo sanee 1247 H.; but I do not comprehend one of the Sentences so as to enable me to explain it satisfactorily to his Lordship, because I cannot clearly understand your Majesty's Meaning. The Sentence is as follows:—"One of the many Items is of Nine Lacs which he took from my Government, but which was saved by the protecting Kindness of the British Government."

I therefore request your Majesty will have the Goodness to inform me what Item this is, and how has the British Government saved it for your Majesty.

I also quote another Part of the Letter, in which my Name is introduced, viz. "Of those Acts, One has been known from the Arzee of Bheem Sing, which the Resident also has seen."

I beg to observe that this has been stated to your Majesty entirely at variance with Fact. I never saw the Arzee in question, nor did I ever hold any Intercourse with that Individual, or with any of your Officers, excepting those whom your Majesty sends to me, nor do I wish to interfere at all in the Choice of your Officers. Your Majesty may yourself appoint them, both in the City and in the Country. It rests entirely with you to notice the Conduct and Character of your Officers, and to select them. If they are good Men the Benefit will be altogether for your Government; and if they are bad or inefficient Officers the Loss will be your Majesty's.

In conclusion I have only to request to be favoured with an Answer to the Nine Lac Question. The other Parts of this Letter require no Answer.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to Mr. Secretary
MACNAGHTEN, dated 6th October 1832.

ADVERTS to the Changes that have taken place in regard to the Management of the Country, and to the Circumstance of Aumils and Zemindars having been summoned to Lucknow; the Consequences of this Measure, and the unsettled State of the Country; states that the Aumils, &c. are required to charge Bribery to the late Minister; notices the ruinous Consequences of such a Step in the Instance of Bukht Sing, and the disorganized State of the Hyderabad and Sindree Districts; reports a Conversation with the King respecting those Disorders, and the State of the Capital; the Excesses and Cruelties of Agha Mirza described; alludes to the present impoverished State of the Public Treasury, and the Failure of the Revenue within the last Two Months, as shown by the annexed comparative Statement of the Receipts in the Treasury during the Eight Months previous to and Two Months subsequent to the Dismissal of the Minister.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 6th October 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

In my Dispatch of the 23d of August I reported that the King had issued Circular Orders throughout the Country that all Aumils and other Public Officers should remain at their Posts, and that all the Regulations established by Muteezemoodowlah should remain in full Force. Those Orders have never been publicly cancelled; but several material Changes have occurred, great Confusion and Disobedience on the Part of the Zemindars is manifest, and I fear I shall soon have to report the Existence of open Rebellion in several Quarters.

2. For a short Time after the Orders were issued referred to in the First Paragraph of this Letter, no material Alteration came to my Knowledge, excepting more frequent Announcement in the Akbars of Dakoitees and other Crimes against the Public Peace; but shortly afterwards I heard of many Aumils being summoned to the Capital, and that Two of them, (both in charge of very large Districts,) instead of obeying the Summons, had precipitately fled to the Company's Dominions. The Cause of the latter Circumstance is variously spoken of among the Native Community here; some say they were corrupt during the late Minister's Time, and that they have escaped to avoid Detection; others say that they have escaped to avoid paying the Bribes now required of them by the King's new Advisers; but it is unimportant for my present Purpose to endeavour to ascertain the real Causes; I mean merely to report the Fact, and to say that the Revenue is failing, and that the Zemindars are collecting armed Followers around them, in consequence of this Disorganization of the former State of Things in several Districts.

3. Some of the Aumils and Chuckladars who were summoned have repaired to the Capital; but, with lamentable Folly on the Part of the King, those Men have neither been confirmed in their Situations nor removed from them; they are kept here, watched by Spies from the Palace, and are informed that his Majesty has not yet made up his Mind in their Cases; while the Zemindars in their Districts, fully impressed with the Belief that the Aumils in question will not be restored to Office, have discontinued paying their Revenue, and Public Crime of all Descriptions is rapidly increasing, partly perpetrated by the Zemindars themselves, and partly by Men of lower Grade, who can no longer be controlled by the Zemindars, the latter being deprived of the Support they before received from the Aumils. When I began this Dispatch I intended to have enclosed in it a Paper of Intelligence respecting various Attacks on Aumils and Villages, Dakoities on the High Roads, &c.; but since I first heard of the Items of Intelligence I have found out that they were exaggerated, and I have therefore thought it proper to detain the Paper for some Days more, till my Information be better checked, and I will send it containing only such Information as has been proved to be correct.

4. The chief Proceeding of an open Nature on the Part of the Court towards those Aumils and Farmers who have been summoned to the Capital is that of
endeavouring

endeavouring to induce those Officers to confess that they gave Bribes to Moontuzimoodowlah or his Relatives, which the King's new Counsellors seem to think an Object of much greater Importance than attending to the actual State of the Districts now in confusion from the Absence of any constituted local Authorities.

5. In one Case this System has been carried to a ruinous Extent. Bukht Sing, the Nazim of Khyuabad, declared that he had never paid a Bribe to the late Minister. The Aumil was in consequence and is still detained a Prisoner in his House here. Two Chobdars are placed over him, to whom he is compelled to pay Ten Rupees daily, 'till he shall confess that the late Minister received Bribes from him. In the meantime the District is not only left without any Aumil, but a Number of the Zemindars have also been summoned to Lucknow, in hopes of thus proving Bribery against the late Minister, and the District is consequently in a wretched State of Disorganization, and scarcely a Day has passed during the last Fortnight without Reports of Dakoities and Affrays in that Quarter.

6. In the Sandee District (opposite to Furruckabad), from which the Aumils escaped into the British Territories on hearing of the Dismissal of the late Minister, the State of Things is much the same, according to all Accounts, as at Khyuabad; and in the Sandee Case the Native Reports have been fully confirmed by some Letters that I have received from the Honourable Mr. Thore, the Magistrate at Futtighur.

7. I mentioned some of the above melancholy Facts personally to the King, in a short but very serious Manner. He was alluding (while speaking of quite a different Subject from his own Government) to the Necessity of Men often turning their Thoughts to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and I took the Opportunity of intreating his Majesty to do so; I recommended him earnestly to think of the Sufferings of the People, and I advised him to refer to the Koran, where he would see that God, so far from making any Distinction in favour of Men who held high Stations in this World, if they were either guilty of Crimes themselves or permitted others to do so, such Men, and especially Kings, were held more extensively responsible than others; that he (the King) was now amusing himself with Nautches and other such Amusements, while his Subjects were being murdered and pillaged; both in the Country and in the City, and he was taking no Steps to check Disorder; and I then related several Particulars. His Majesty said but little in reply, excepting that he would take care to give proper Orders.

8. I mentioned that issuing Orders would never be sufficient, unless he appointed Officers to see them obeyed; to which his Majesty replied, "That he would in a few Days make a very proper Arrangement (Bundobust) for every thing being put upon an efficient Footing, and he hurried off as soon as Politeness would admit of his Departure."

9. The Conversation alluded to occurred about Ten or Twelve Days ago, but nothing was done that I have heard of, excepting to send off a Battalion to the Biswarrah District, for the Purpose of coercing the Zemindars who had refused to pay any Revenue, and were collecting armed Followers to resist the Demands of the Aumil.

10. In the City the State of Things is manifestly becoming worse instead of better. The Cutwal, who was restored to Office immediately after my Conference of the 23d of August (when I delivered the Governor General's Letter), has since been removed, and replaced by another, who seems to have no Power to do his Duty. He has lately more than once taken up Men for Crimes openly committed, and he has been compelled to release them without Punishment or even Trial, by Orders coming direct from the Padsha Begum and Koodseuh Begum.

11. Still greater Irregularities are frequently taking place on the Part of the King's Foster Brother, a Man named Aga Mirza, who was taken again into favour by the King immediately that the late Minister was dismissed.

12. One of the Modes in which Agha Mirza oppresses the People is, by getting Leave from the King to purchase Houses in the City for himself and his Friends. He and his Friends then fix on a House, and offer a Price for it, such as he says is the proper Value, and desire the Owners to quit; the latter decline to sell, the Price being inadequate; and Aga Mirza then proceeds to pull down the Houses by a Party of Men armed with Pickaxes, &c. who

attend him for the Purpose. This Man's Cruelties were particularly brought to the Notice of Government by Mr. Maddock; but during the last Twelve Months previous to Moontizmoodowlah's Dismissal from Office Aga Mirza was not permitted to visit the Palace at all, and was completely deprived of all Power to do Mischief in the City, or in any way to molest the Inhabitants, by whom he was for many Years dreaded and detested in no common Degree.

No. 72.
(continued.)

13. With reference to what I have stated in the Second Paragraph of this Letter, in regard to the Failure of the Public Revenue, I think it may be interesting to state what I have positively ascertained to be Fact, namely, that the late Minister delivered over to the King on the 5th of August upwards of Fifteen Lacks of Rupees in the current Treasury, and that it was found the Day before Yesterday that there were not above Forty thousand Rupees remaining.

14. I have also referred to the Akbars for the last Ten Months, to ascertain the Difference as to the Realization of the Public Revenue before and since the Dismissal of Mootuzimoodowlah, and I proceed to detail it underneath. As Two Months exactly have now passed since the Minister was removed from Office, I will divide the whole Time into Five Periods of Two Months each, and will state the Amount realized during each Period.

According to the Details in the Akhbar the following

Amount was lodged in the current Treasury in the				
Months of December 1831 and January 1832	-	-	15.53.000	0 0
Ditto Ditto Ditto February and March Ditto	-	-	12.69.000	0 0
Ditto Ditto Ditto April and May 1832	-	-	16.95.000	0 0
Ditto Ditto Ditto June and July, and Five Days of August	-	-	14.28.000	0 0
Ditto Ditto from 5th of August to the 5th of October	-	-	7.23.000	0 0

15. The above great Difference in the Amount of Revenue does not require any Comment, and I have only therefore to add, that the King himself has become much vexed and somewhat alarmed at the Fact of his current Treasury being almost empty, and that he talks of immediately appointing a Minister.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
6th October 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 73.

No. 73.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to Mr. Secretary MACNAGHTEN, of 13th October 1832.

REPORTS the Appointments by the King of Roshunoodowlah to transact public Business with the Resident; transmits Copy and Translation of his Majesty's Letter on the Subject; and describes the general Character of Roshunoodowlah.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 74.

No. 74.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 18th October 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE the Honour to report that the King has appointed Roshunoodowlah, not as Prime Minister, but as an Officer of his Government to communicate with the Resident on Public Business. I herewith enclose a Copy and Translation of his Majesty's Letter to my Address announcing this Appointment.

2. Roshunoodowlah paid me his first Visit Yesterday Morning, at which little passed on his Part but complimentary Expressions towards me, and Professions of the King's and his own Anxiety to meet my Wishes in all Things, and especially in regard to restoring Order in the Country.

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No. 74.
(continued.)

3. I pointed out the Diminution of Revenue, and the vast Increase of violent Affrays which have occurred in several Districts within the last Two Months, all of which was openly admitted by Roshunoodowlah and by Tajooddeen Hasain Khan, who accompanied him; and Roshunoodowlah observed that it would take Six Months to restore Things to the same Tranquillity as existed before Muntuzumoodowlah's Dismissal.

4. Roshunoodowlah studiously avoided entering into any Details as to what Measures he would pursue, and I did not press him on that Subject; but contented myself with saying, that the King and he have the Power if they have the Wish to restore Order, and that the British Government would hold the King responsible for the proper Management of his Kingdom. I observed that the King was now enjoying that full Power which he had often solicited the Governor General to obtain, and that his Majesty had already been so fully warned of the Consequences that would follow if he should fail to establish good Government that it was needless for me now to repeat those Warnings.

5. Roshunoodowlah does not bear a bad Character in this Place, according to the best of my Information; but he is said to be extravagant in regard to personal Expences, and no one gives him Credit for any Knowledge of Public Business. He was for many Years the Farmer of a large District, but I understood that he never visited his District, even for a Day. It was managed entirely by a Deputy, and he remained in this City receiving the Advantages of the Farm through the Hands of his Agents.

6. I have little or no Hopes, therefore, that any Public Benefit will arise to the State from the Nomination of Roshunoodowlah to Office; for he is, I understand, chiefly guided in his Public Measures by Saabhaun Allee Khan, Raja Mewaram, and Moozuffer Allee Khan, all of them Men notorious in this City for being both corrupt and tyrannical.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Lucknow Residency,
18th Oct. 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from the KING of OUDE, dated 10th Jumadee ool auril 1247, or
4th October 1832.

THE Attachment of the Family of Roshunoodowlah Moonurool Moolk Mohummud Hosain Allee Khan Buhadoor Kaim Jung to this, and the Favour which he in particular enjoyed during the Reign of my late revered Father, are so well known that they need not be described. In like Manner his Attachment to me, especially in former Times, has been proved; that is, the great Confidence which his late Majesty reposed in him induced him to appoint him (Roshunoodowlah) for the Transaction of such Business as devolved upon me at that Time. In consideration of these Causes, and his good Conduct and Intentions towards the Public at large, I have honoured him with the Situation of transacting the State Affairs. In the Spirit of the Friendship subsisting between the Two States, I have written, for your Information, that he will, when necessary, visit you, as has been customary.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed)

Geo. Swinton,

Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 75.

No. 75.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor-General, dated 16th October 1832.

TRANSMITS a Paper of authentic Intelligence, showing the Disorders now prevailing in the Oude Country, stating that no Hope of Reform can be entertained under the Influence of the King's present Advisers. Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan still attends at the Residency, but has refused to interfere in the Management of the Country while certain Individuals continue to direct his Majesty's Counsels.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from Major J. Low, to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
16th October 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

WITH reference to the concluding Part of the 3d Paragraph of my Dispatch to your Address of the 6th Instant, I have now the Honour to enclose a Paper of authentic Intelligence respecting the melancholy Change which has taken place in the State of Things in many Parts of Oude within the last Two Months. I have received some further Reports relative to the Disobedience of Zemindars to the Orders of local Authorities in several Districts not mentioned in the enclosed Paper, and especially so in the large District farmed by Raja Durshim Sing, but the Details that have reached me have been very contradictory, and I have not included them at all.

2. Most of the Circumstances described in the enclosed Paper have been mentioned in the Akhbars from the Interior of the Country, and were admitted to me to be true by Roshunoodowlah at the Visit he paid me on the 12th Instant.

3. Some of the Matters now brought to Notice are of a trifling Description, being such as will often occur in most Native States, but many others are of a very different Nature, and such as never took place in the Districts where they have now occurred during the last Twelve Months that Moontuzimoodowlah was Minister. It is impossible for me to say positively that the enclosed Intelligence is correct in all its Details, but I firmly believe that the general Picture is strictly true, while many of the Events described have been admitted to be correct by the King's Ministers, and are publicly spoken of here by the Natives as established Facts.

4. The King has sent to me a Message to say, that he is greatly obliged to me for the polite Reception I gave to Roshunoodowlah, and that his Majesty confidently expects that great Improvements will take place in the Course of a very few Weeks, through that Minister's Exertions. I confess I have no such Expectations; for the Men who now guide both his Majesty and Roshunoodowlah are not only very unfit, in my Opinion, from their Characters, to govern with Efficiency or Justice, but they are also struggling against each other for Power in the different Departments of the State, each of those Men (with the single Exception of Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan) being employed in encouraging the Zemindars and other local Officers to apply to himself individually, in order to have their Complaints favourably adjusted at the Durbar.

5. Tajoodeen is pursuing a different Plan; whether with the ambitious View of ultimately gaining more Influence, or merely from prudent Motives, I cannot say, but he is keeping entirely aloof at present from all direct Attempts towards guiding the Measures of the Durbar. The King desired him to act with and assist Roshunoodowlah and the other Favourites in all Matters of Business. He replied that he had no Objections to act with Roshunoodowlah, provided Moozuffer Allee Khan, Soobhaun Allee Khan, and Rajah Mewaran were not allowed to meddle, but said that if they continued, as now, to advise and act with Roshunoodowlah, he (Tajoodeen) declined to attend the Cutcherry at all; giving as his Reason, that those Three Persons are such bitter Enemies of his that if he were to connect himself in any way with the general Business of the Government they would continue to throw Blame upon him, and thus cause his utter Ruin; and he openly solicited Permission to resign his Office of Vakeel, and to be allowed to proceed with his Family to Meera. To this Request, however, the King has positively refused to accede; and Tajoodeen accordingly still attends at my Office daily to discuss with me those Matters of Business in which the British Government have a direct Interest, such as Applications to and from the surrounding British Civil Authorities, the Claims of British Sepoys, and the Adjustment of petty Disputes between Christians or guaranteed Natives and the King's Subjects.

6. The Circumstance of any Native at this Place venturing to object to a Proposal from the King, and still more the Fact of his not being punished by his Majesty for making such Objections, are both so uncommon that I have

No. 76. thought the above Details in regard to Tajoodeen Hoosain sufficiently interesting
(continued.) to report them for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor
General. I am told that Tajoodeen is supported by the Soodreen Begum, which
may account for the Treatment he has hitherto experienced from the King.

Lucknow Residency,
16th August 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

ITEMS of Intelligence regarding the present State of Affairs in OUDE.

ON the 2d September 1832, Chutta Sing, the rebel Zemindar of Nucktour in Pergunnah Palee, attacked the Thannah of Rupoosah, and removed it. In this Affair 8 Men in the Service of the Government, and 28 of the Zemindar's Adherents, were killed and wounded.

The Village of Budhowan in the Elaka of Mohungunj in Salone was in the Possession of Thakoorain Shah Mow, the Widow of Jurginj Sing, the late Talookdar. A Dispute arose between her and Rajah Shunker Sing, the Talookdar of Bunloee. On the 9th August the Rajah sent his People for the Purpose of establishing his own Thannah in the Village. This gave rise to a Dispute; and on hearing the Circumstance, Bheem Sing, the Chukladar of Salone, came to the Place with the King's Troops. The Villagers called out in the Name of the King, and said that the Dispute was a private one between themselves respecting the Village, and they would settle it amongst themselves. They begged of him not to take part with any one from interested Motives. When they found that Bheem Sing would not attend to their Remonstrances, they imprudently requested that somebody should take them by the Hand as a Token of Protection, in order that they might leave the Village. The Chukladar desired his Servant to do so, but when they came out of the Village, with Confidence, on the Strength of this Assurance, he put to the Sword about 63 Persons, without attending to their Cries for Protection. He cut off the Heads of those that were respectable, and had them hung up in his Camp.

On the 26th August, Sufdar Sing, the Japeekdar of Banmow in the Elaka of Purtabghur, farmed to Durshim Sing, absconded into one of the Company's frontier Provinces. He came suddenly with a large Force at Midnight, and attacked the Thana. He went in the House by scaling the back Wall, and killed Bhynttee Khan, the Tuhsildar, and his Servant, and also killed and wounded the Jamadar and Four Sepoys.

The Thakoorain of Dryrah in Akberpore in the District of Sultanpore detached 300 Men at Night on the 16th August, and had Meer Soobhaun Allee, the Tuhsildar, seized. Seven of the Sepoys who attempted to rescue him were killed and Four wounded. He confined the Tuhsildar's Peishear and Sepoys in the Fort of Dryrah, and exposed them to much Disgrace.

On the 20th August, Sumbhoo Sing, Zemindar of Mowrawan, made a Night Attack, and carried off his Hostages.

Bukht Sing, the Aumil of Belgram; being at Lucknow, Mohkum Sing, the Zemindar of that Place, has commenced attacking Travellers, who cannot pass that Way now from Meaugunj to Belgram, where People keep themselves armed, for Fear of him. Grain cannot come from that Part of the Country, and it is therefore become dear. Mohkum Sing sends Notes every Day to the Bankers at Belgram, requiring them to pay something, and threatening to plunder them if they do not comply.

On the 28th September, Lullmur Tewary, Nazim of Biswarah, went to bathe in the Ganges, on the Occasion of the Amawus Kubur, accompanied by his Servants and some of the King's Sepoys, at a Place called Mowrawan (one of the Dependences of Byswarah). Sheo Bukrh Sing, with other Zemindars, surrounded him with 1,000 or 1,200 Foot and Horse, and stopped him on the Way. He is still surrounded by them, and there is every Probability that there will be a serious Warfare. The Nazim's Son is also surrounded at the Place he lives, and all Communication is cut off with him.

On the 25th September a Letter was received by Halkapersaud, Tushuldar of Mohumdee, from Jeek Mull, Zemindar of Mohua in the Elaka of Padroh in Mohumdee, stating that, at the Instigation of Mohun Lal, the Sigahdar of Gopamow,

Gopamow, the Zemindars of Baugermow had committed a Decoity in his Zemindaree, and carried off 300 Cattle. The Tuhsuldar forwarded the Letter to the King. No. 76. (continued.)

It appears from the Koorsee Akhbar that Decoits and Thieves are appearing in great Numbers there; the Zemindars have cut and carried off the Khurriff Crop; the Ryots have absconded for Fear of the Decoits.

In Pergunnah Hisampore, under the Management of Syfeadowlah, Thieves, on the 26th September, attacked the House of Ghoodeen, who secured one of them, and sent him to Elleeresghur the Talookdar, who had the Thief beat to Death.

It appears from the Sandee Akhbar of the 24th September that Lall Mahomed and other Cawnpore Merchants went to Mootee Lall, the Karinda of Bukht Mull, and stated that they were bringing Boats laden with Keranah and Timber from Pillbheet, when the Zemindars of Luckoha and Sandee attempted to plunder the Boats; on their Entreaties, however, the Zemindars let them go off, after taking 70 Rupees and Two Maunds of Kiranah.

Dutta Sing, the absconded Zemindar of Koorseeah, made a Night Attack on the Village of Goodwa, and killed Oodwut Sing, Zemindar, and plundered his Property. Jumyeat Rae, the Aumil, being drunk, shut up the Gates of his House, and took no Notice of the Affair.

On the 24th September, the Wife of the late Goorhwa Sing, Zemindar of Qonjee, &c., was collecting the Rents, and when the Aumil desired her to refrain from doing so she was ready to fight him. Lallman cannot cope with her for Want of Troops.

Lalmun seized 170 of the Inhabitants of Bhuturgaon, on the Charge of having taken part with Mulnaj Sing, the Zemindar of the Village, who had within a few Days opposed the Aumil, on which Occasion some Persons were wounded. Among the Prisoners, Mohur Sing, &c., Three were found who belonged to Moortuzakhan's Battalion.

The Adherents of Rambuksh, Talookdar of Gowrah, in Raee Barrelly, have surrounded the House of Matadeen, the Kanongae in Raepore, and are desirous of killing him. Lalmun cannot punish them.

On the 4th September, Mukrood deen, the Zemindar of Basunder, stated to the Aumil, Mohummud Ghous, that Thieves were very numerous and active in the Country, but the Police, instead of aiding the Inhabitants of the Village, who go out at Night to capture them, seize them, and take no Notice of the Thieves, which has rendered the Villages very much dissatisfied.

1st September. Cheda Khan, the Moohta of the Wife of the late Moosahel Alle Khan, Talookdar of the Mahmoodabad, is become refractory, owing to the Mismanagement of the Nazim, and will not pay the Government Dues. He has stationed People over all the Mahajums and Artisans, to realize Money from them. He has even confined many People, and has extorted Money from them. No Attention is paid to the Complaints of the Mahajums, who, being reduced to this Extremity, say that they will retire into the Company's Dominions.

2d October. Sutul Sing and Shunker Sing, the Proprietors of Rampore in Chandah, who have retired into the Company's Provinces in consequence of the Nazim's Exactions, have sent Directions to the Peasants of Rampore not to cultivate their Lands under pain of Devastation, the Village therefore remains uncultivated.

A Burglary was committed in the House of Poorun, Mookuddeen of Mohummudpore, and they took away Property to the Amount of 1,000 Rupees. Mohummud Shuffee, the Thanadar, made no Attempt to bring the Thieves to Punishment.

Goura Shunker, the Son of Chundun Muhajoun, Inhabitant of Mowrawan, has commenced collecting the Revenues of his own Farm, without the Nazim having yet done so. He wants Eight Annas in the Rupee from the Cultivators, who are preparing to leave the Place, owing to the Muhajoun's Exactions.

Lulloo Punchun, &c., Zemindars of Purrier, are cutting down the Trees planted on the High Road from Russooabad to the Banks of the Ganges, for the Comfort of Travellers. The Aumil takes no Notice of this.

Suljee, the Zemindar of Sunnyba in Dulmow, has given Shelter in his House to Mahraj Sing, the absconded Zemindar of Surgawae, who had fought

with the Nazim Lalmun, and has promised him that he will do with all his Adherents, which has made Maharaj Sing still more refractory.

The above Saljee has sent 200 Villagers with a small Gun to intercept the Grain proceeding to Lalmun Nazim's Camp.

Ghalam Hoosain complains that Feyjoo and others, who claim the Village of Bhumryan as their Zemindaree Right, committed a Decoitee in his House, with Amur Allee and Three other Inhabitants of Shahbaspore in Shajehanpore, and carried off his Cattle. His Two Sons, Fuzul Hoosain and Jummaul Hoosain, went to their Rescue, and were killed by the Decoits, of whom One has also been wounded.

2d October. Pirthuput Sing is repairing his Fortress. He collects the Revenues from the Ryots, under the Threat of plundering them, and pays nothing to the Government.

The Zemindars are extorting Money in this Pergunnah from the Ryots, many of whom have absconded from the Pergunnah; others are about to leave it; the Lands remain uncultivated.

Ram Buksh, the Zemindar of Sunkrampore in Dhoondea Khera, attached to Byswarah is become refractory, and would not answer Lalmun's Letter which summoned him; he did not send any Money on account of the Commencement of the Year, and is ready to oppose the Nazim with Arms.

4th October. Punchum Sing, Zemindar, committed a Dacoity in the House of Huree Sing, Inhabitant of Isowha.

4th October. The Zemindar of Hulta in Futtehpoore was cutting the Crop. Ramkishin, the Zilladar, on attempting to prevent the Zemindar from doing so, was expelled from the Place.

4th October. An Affray took place at Sewakpore, in Sundeela (Aumil Bukht Mull) between the Zemindars of that Place and those of Jungoon, on account of a boundary Dispute, in which Two or Three Men were wounded.

4th October. Barund Sing, Zemindar of Lahurpore, expelled the People of the Aumil, who had been sent as Dusheets to realize the Revenue, without giving them any thing.

4th October. In Nowabgunge an Affray took place between the Zemindars Dharja Sing and Sungram Sing, on account of a boundary Dispute, in which Twenty-one Persons were killed and wounded. The Dispute has not yet been settled.

Laljee and others, who farm Lands in Byswarah yielding Lacs of Rupees, pay no Attention to the Suzawil of Shootur Suwars and his Majesty's Mandate. They are collecting the Revenues in opposition to those Orders; and having Guns with them, they have set the Authority of the Aumil and the Government at defiance.

6th October. Ruza Buksh, an absconded Zemindar, committed a Decoity in the Village of Gowrah on the Estate of Dhurshim Sing, and carried off all the Cattle and Property at the Place.

Mimur Sing committed a Decoity in the House of Pershaud, situated in Busarah in Pergunnah Isowlie.

7th October. The Zemindars of the Village Mawrah killed Huzaree Sing, the Brother of the Zemindar of Mutowlee in Belgram. The Tuhsuldar took no Notice of the Murder.

Dewally Sing committed a Decoity in the Village of Mutowlee, the Elaka of Khunjun Sing, who had formerly killed the Father and Uncle of Dewally Sing.

8th October. Lurhkurry, and other Zemindars committed a Decoity at Kuthourah in the Poorah of Lonee, and carried off the Property of the Inhabitants.

Gunesh Buksh, the Zemindar of Seelone, committed a Decoity at Pursud-deepore, plundered the Property of the Inhabitants, and established his own Thannah in the Room of the People of Atta Buksh, the Kanoongo.

There are about 700 Men assembled in the Gurhie of Dowlut Sing and Muddur Buksh, Boundaries of Biswan, for the Purpose of opposing the Aumil (Koondur Sovel). Great Disorders prevail in Biswan.

In a Dispute between Chalpa Buksh and Tiluck Sing, Karindar of Humount Sing, and Juggomahun Sing, Zemindar of Rampore and Bhedy (in Salone), Three Men were killed and One wounded.

9th October. A Decoity was committed at Ooturya in Pergunnah Palee, in which Two Men were wounded and the Cattle carried off.

Arraroo Sing, Zemindar, haumnawan, has collected Four Annas in the Rupee from the Ryots, and the Tuhsuldar has been obliged to retire to Dhoondwapooruh, for Fear of him. No. 76. (continued.)

The Zemindar of Nownar in Sauddee took Two hundred Rupees from Gool-mohumud, Merchant, who was carrying a Float of Timber from Pilibheet to Cawnpore. The Aumil paid no Attention to his Complaint.

11th October. Dawlut Sing and Zamil Sing, and other Zemindars of Biswah, have sworn to each other that they will not pay Revenue to the Aumil.

Lalmun, the Nazim of Byswarah, has reported to the King that the Zemindars would not attend upon him from a Spirit of Contumacy, and had possessed themselves of the Khureef Crop without making any Revenue Payment.

12th October. Soodursum Sing, the Son of Rughuath Sing, Zemindar of Pergunnah Sumroosa, in the District of Salone, has lately mounted Seven Guns in his Fortress, and is preparing to resist all Orders from the Government. He is collecting Eight Annas in the Rupee, in addition to the usual Demands, without paying any thing whatever to the Government.

Lucknow Residency, (Signed) J. Low, Resident.
16th Oct. 1832.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 77.

No. 77.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 21st October 1832.

REPORTS, that the King has restored to Office Four of the Aumils who had been summoned to Lucknow, and authorized them to return to the Country, and that the Tax on Cloth has been repealed; notices the Folly of the King in releasing a Number of Criminals from the Gaol, through the Instigation of certain Faikeirs, who are leagued with them, and have great Influence over the King, owing to their having promised his Majesty a Son and Heir; notices the King's tyrannical Conduct towards Mulkar Zunnanea's Female Servants on the Charge of Sorcery.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 78.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 21st October 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

ADVERTING to the 3d Paragraph of my Letter of the 6th Instant, in which I noticed the Fact of a Number of Aumils having been summoned to Lucknow, and neither confirmed in their Offices nor formally removed from them, it is but fair that I should now report, that the King, within the last Three Days, has bestowed Khillut on Four of those Aumils, and authorized them to return to their respective Districts. It is generally reported, however, that the Aumils now restored have been obliged, by bribing the King's Advisers, to purchase (it may be said) their Restoration to Office, which, if true, will render it almost certain that the Aumils alluded to will make up to themselves the Sums they now have paid at the Durbar by extra Exactions from the Zemindars; but I have no Means of knowing positively that Bribes have really been given; and at all events the Appointments of any Aumils must, I think, prove somewhat better for the Public Interests than a longer Duration of the State of Things which has existed during the last Two Months, namely, that of leaving extensive Districts without any acknowledged local Authority to superintend them.

2. It seems proper also to mention that the new Regulation which levied a heavy Tax on Cloth brought into the City of Lucknow, and which caused those

No. 78.
(continued.)

those Tumults reported in my Dispatch of the 11th June have been repealed, and that the Cloth Merchants and Retail Dealers in that Article are now pursuing their Occupations in this City as formerly.

3. While the King in the Instances above described has caused some Amelioration in the State Affairs, I regret to say that in other Matters he is acting with lamentable Folly, particularly in releasing a Number of Felons from the Gaol, of whom between Twenty and Thirty Men are notorious Dakoits, whose Apprehension was only effected by long and active Exertions on the Part of this Government, and was the Cause of relieving the Inhabitants of several Districts from constant Alarm and much real Distress. His Majesty has indeed gone through the Form of taking Security for the good Conduct of those Dakoits now liberated, whose former Crimes were notorious, but their Habits are such, that no Money can, I fear, have the complete Effect of protecting the Inhabitants of the Country from their Depredations.

4. The indirect Causes of these extraordinary Acts on the Part of his Majesty are; first, his very anxious Desire to have a Son, and next his weak Belief in the Efficacy of the Prayers and Incantations of certain Faikeirs, who, being leagued with the Criminals in the Gaol, have persuaded the King that there was no Chance of an Heir to the Throne of Oude, unless his Majesty would previously release a Number of Prisoners. His Majesty has of late frequently invited a Number of Fakeirs to the Palace of an Evening, when he puts on Clothes somewhat similar to theirs, and after listening to their vague and pretended Prophecies for some Hours, he has loaded them with Presents. By these Follies the King has incurred the Ridicule, (as far as they can venture to speak of it,) of the whole Community at Lucknow.

5. The same Anxiety for a Son, and Weakness of Intellect in believing anything that his Favourites wish him to believe, has led the King lately to act with great Severity towards some of the Females in the Muhul of his Wife Mulkah Zumaneah, who were accused of exercising Sorcery with a view to prevent the Pregnancy of Loodsuah Begum. One of the Females punished for this supposed Sorcery, namely, Pearee Mulhaldar, died suddenly in Confinement; and, according to the general Belief, she poisoned herself rather than submit to further Disgrace. Roshunoodowlah admitted to me that she is dead, but declared that she died a natural Death. Another Woman was sent to the Camp of Durshim Sing, (Two Miles from the City,) to be flogged daily 'till she should confess the Crime of which she was accused; and it is reported in the City that she also has since died. The latter Circumstance may not be true, and it is also possible that Pearee Muhuldar may have died a natural Death, for it is very difficult to ascertain such Matters positively at a Foreign Capital, and I did not think it right to institute a minute Inquiry into an Affair of so purely a domestic Nature; but the Facts of the King believing the Accusations of Witchcraft against Mulka Zumania's Female Servants, and of his having severely punished several of those Females for their alleged Acts of Sorcery, are certain; and I have thought it right to report those Circumstances because they serve to show the real Character and Conduct of the King.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
21st October 1832.

*(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(A True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 79.

No. 79.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
8th November 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

ADVERTING to the Tenor of several of my late Dispatches I imagine that the Right Honourable the Governor General will not be surprized that I have now to report the Fact of an Insurrection having broken out in the District of Byswarrah.

2. The principal Person in opposition to the Government is a Zemindar named Aman Sing, who having within the last few Weeks repaired his Mud

Fort, and ~~Chukladar~~ ^{Chukladar}, has now bid Defiance to Lalmum Tewaree, the new Chukladar, be reging Hajupore for the last Three or Four Days, and the latest Accounts state that the Zemindar has gained several Advantages over the Government Troops, and that the Chukladar has applied to the Durbar for a Reinforcement of Artillery.

No. 79.

(continued.)

Lucknow Residency,
8th Nov. 1832.

I have the Honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Secretary to Government.

No. 80.

No. 80.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to Mr. Secretary MACNAGHTEN, dated 6th November 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

REPORTS the Substance of a Conference between the Resident and the King of Oude, at which his Majesty complained of the Resident withholding his Advice from Roshunoodowlah. The Resident's Answer, and the Advice given by him to the King respecting the Management of his Country. Advertises that Part of the Resident's Conversation which relates to the Delay experienced in the Receipt of Orders from the Durbar in regard to Sepoy Complaints. The King's Observation respecting Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan, and the Resident's Reply. The Resident observes that the King does not appear to be personally avaricious, or inclined to oppress the People, but that his Imbecility is so extreme that he must always be a Tool in the Hands of others.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 81.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 6th November 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

I HAVE lately paid Two Visits to the King, the first about Ten Days since, and the second this Forenoon. On the first Occasion I went at his Majesty's Request, and professedly on his Part, for the Purpose of discussing Public Business, but he scarcely adverted at all to Public Affairs, excepting by thanking me for the Civility with which I had several Times received Roshunoodowlah, and by expressing his Confidence that in a short Time great Improvements would take place under that Minister's Superintendence.

2. The Visit from which I have just returned took place in consequence of a complimentary Proposal to that Effect on my Part in order to congratulate his Majesty personally on the Anniversary of his Birthday. The immediate Cause of my making this Offer was my Desire to prevent the Risk of the King feeling any personal Annoyance at my having a few Days before declined a Proposal from his Majesty to invite me to Breakfast and Dinner at the Palace on this Day. It was a verbal Message delivered by Tajooddeen, and through the same Channel I begged to be excused, on the Score of my being at present in deep Mourning, "When it is not usual," I said, "with my Countrymen to go to Scenes of Festivity." I offered, however, to send Captain Paton in my Stead, but the King in polite Terms said he would not give that Officer the Trouble of attending, but would receive the Nuzzurs of his Courtiers on his Birthday without inviting any Europeans.

3. It was not my Intention to have commenced any Conversation To-day on Business, but the King voluntarily noticed the State of Public Affairs with considerable Earnestness, and, as a good deal was said on both Sides, though chiefly by myself, I think it right to report to you the Substance of what passed on that Occasion. Roshunoodowlah was present during the whole Interview.

4. The King commenced by adverting to my having spoken to Roshunoodowlah some Days since about the Insurrection in Byswara; and after admitting

admitting in a few Words that there was Confusion at p. ^{One} in the Country, he said, "What do you advise should be done? You used to advise the Hukeem often, but I find you don't give Advice to Roshunoodowlah." I replied that the Hukeem seldom required Advice from me; that I never gave it (excepting about Company's Business) unless the Minister either asked for it, or told me what the Oude Government was doing with the evident Wish that I should mention my Opinions;" and I then said to his Majesty, "Have the goodness to ask Roshunoodowlah whether he has once asked my Advice on any Point, or mentioned any Acts of your Government in such a Way as to lead me to suppose that he wished for my Advice?"

5. On my asking the above Question the King gave a Look of Interrogation to Roshunoodowlah, who answered candidly enough, by saying that he had not hitherto asked my Advice at all, and which he accounted for by a long Explanation to the King (very indistinctly stated, though,) of his Occupations in other Matters during the short Time that he had been in Office; and he concluded by saying, that in a few Days, and after taking the King's Orders, he would mention various Matters to the Resident, and would ask his Advice upon them. The King also added a few Words to the same Purport.

6. That Point being admitted, I mean the Fact of my not having been hitherto consulted, I thought it right to mention to the King and his Ministers in the most distinct Language that I was not making any Complaint of not being consulted, and that I was only answering the King's Complaint of my not giving Advice. The King laughed, and said he had made no Complaint, that I was his best Friend, &c.; "and how," (he remarked,) "can a Friend complain against a Friend?"

7. Roshunoodowlah then remarked that the King was going to send out more Troops against the Rebels in Byswara, and that the Disturbances there would be soon quelled. Before he could proceed further the King interrupted him, by saying to me, "But you have not given me any Advice yet." I replied that it was difficult to know where to begin; that formerly the only Part of the Kingdom that was remarkable for Disorder was Durshun Sing's Talook, "but now" (I said) "you seem to have Durshun Sing in all Directions. And besides," I added, in a jocular Way, "I doubt whether any Advice from me would be of use. I did not find, when I gave you Advice before, that it was attended to; on the contrary, you were vexed at it." "That" (said the King) "was only about the Hukeem; but in all other Things I wish to be always guided by your Advice." I answered by saying that I had not said a Word to him about the Hukeem for the last Two Months, and that I had no Intention to mention his Name now. "But on what Subject" (said I) "do you want Advice?" To which the King replied that he wished me to suggest any thing that occurred to me about the State of Things in the Country. Being thus invited, I spoke at some Length to the following Effect: First, I observed that in regard to the Insurrection the King ought carefully to ascertain who was in fault; whether the Zemindars were rebellious without just Cause, or whether the Chukladars were not demanding from the Farmer more Money than was due to the State; next, I said that I feared the main Cause of the Disorder was the injudicious System going on here at the Capital; and that if the King thought, on Reflection, that I was correct in that Belief, he ought, I said, materially to alter a Plan which had proved by the Experience of the last Three Months to be so inefficient; next, I said that I considered much of the present Confusion in various Quarters was owing to the King having resorted again to the Farming System, to the bad Selection of Men as Farmers, and to great Bribery at the Palace,—unknown, I was convinced, to the King himself. "How is it possible," I said, "that Aumils can pay Bribes and give Revenue also, unless they plunder the poor Cultivators." The King here said to Roshunoodowlah, "The Resident says what is very true;" but whether he meant that it was true that heavy Bribes have been extracted from the local Officers, or that my general Reasoning as to the Effects of Bribery, I cannot say. I then reverted to what I before noticed with respect to the System at the Seat of Government, and stated my Opinion that much Mischief had been caused by the great Number of Advisers at the Court, most of them plotting daily against each other for Influence and Power. "There are now," I observed, "Two Begums and Six or Seven Men" (whom I named) "all giving Orders occasionally that in Native States, generally speaking, are issued

“ issued only by the chief Minister. It is notorious,” I said, “ that some Aumils and Chukladers now make their Representation to Roshunoodowlah, others to Moozuffer Allee Khan, and others again to Soobaun Allee Khan, and so on. Such a Scheme was never, I believe, tried before in Hindoostan, and I think it cannot succeed. I would therefore advise you to revert to the more usual Plan. I think you should select some one Person as the principal Minister, and let him do the usual full Duties of that Office, and place more Confidence than I understand you are now placing in any one of your numerous Advisers.”

9. The King here observed, “ I have appointed this Relative,” (pointing to Roshunoodowlah) “ as the principal Minister; I think him the fittest Person for the Office.” I replied, “ Very well; I make no Objections to him, nor would I have objected to whomsoever you had appointed. It is for you to select all your Instruments of Office; for they are your own Interests that will be improved or injured by good or bad Selections, and not my Affairs at all; but if this Gentleman is, as you say, the fittest Person, why do you not give him Power enough to do his Duty with Efficiency? Even in Matters connected with the Residency it has been proved to me, during the last Ten Days, that he has not had the Power to do Business in the Way that it was done formerly. I cannot even obtain the Purwannah of your Government to order Inquiries into the Claims of British Sepoys nearly so soon as formerly. The Sepoys now follow me and my Assistant in the Street whenever we go out, complaining bitterly of these Delays. The usual Excuses sent to me for these Delays are that your Majesty’s Seal has not been procurable at the Moment. Formerly such Orders were issued under the Minister’s Seal, and without Delay; but it is for you to decide whether your own Seal or your Minister’s shall be used; and all I have to say on the Subject is this, that if you do not wish that such Orders should be issued under your Minister’s Seal you ought to give him Access to your own Seal; for these Delays are very vexatious, and may soon cause Complaints from the Governor General.”

10. The King said that these Matters should all be rectified, and observed that there must have been some Fault on the Part of Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan. I immediately replied, that if Tajoodeen were in fault his Majesty ought to order him to act otherwise; and I also added, in distinct Language, that if the King thought that Tajoodeen did not do his Duty as Vakeel properly his Majesty ought to appoint some one else to do the Duty. I expressed myself in the Manner just described, in consequence of a Report which reached me lately that the King wished to displace Tajoodeen, but that he refrained from doing so from some vague Apprehension that such a Measure would be displeasing to me. I cannot vouch for the Accuracy of the Report in question; indeed I am disposed to think, that though most of the King’s Advisers dislike Tajoodeen, yet that the King himself does not wish to be without his Services; but whether the Report be well founded or not, I thought it advisable, on general Principles, to speak to the King in the Manner above related.

11. It is impossible for me to predict what Effect the Conference now reported will have upon the Measures of this Durbar; or whether it will have any Effect at all; but be that as it may, I have derived some Satisfaction at having had so convenient an Opportunity of showing the King, in the Presence of his new Minister, first, that I feel no petty Jealousy, because I am not consulted about the general Affairs of the Oude Government, and next, that I have no Desire to interfere in any way with the King’s Patronage.

12. If the great Affairs of this Government were conducted as those of most other Native Governments are, viz. either by the Orders of the Sovereign or by the chief Minister, or even if they emanate from both, one could hardly doubt that some Good would be affected by a Resident convincing those Two Persons that his Advice is disinterested, and that he seeks not to intrude that Advice; but in this Case it is not only that the King cannot act for himself, but Roshunoodowlah also seems to be very dependant (though not in so great Degree as His Majesty) upon the Assistance of other Men, both for executing and devising the principal Measures of the Durbar, and as the extra Counsellors alluded to have an Interest in keeping up the present State of Things, by which (having much Power and no Responsibility) they make large Sums of Money, they are continually flattering the King, by declaring that he

No. 81. is fully qualified to guide every thing himself, and by advising him never again
(continued.) to lower his own Dignity (as they term it) by giving full Powers of Prime Minister to any one.

13. I have Reason to believe that several of his Majesty's influential Advisers have held the following Language to the King in regard to Roshunoodowlah; viz. " Give him any Name you like, but never give him full Powers to do as former Ministers did, or he too will become the Sovereign, as the Hukeem was; " send Orders to the Country sometimes by one Person and sometimes by another, " then all the World will see that every thing emanates from yourself." At present there are so many Councillors, and the King has so little Discretion as to the Places and Times at which Business is transacted, that the chief Occurrences in the Palace are much more public than was formerly the Case. I may also observe, that although the King has promoted Roshunoodowlah to higher Office than any other Person, yet that several other Persons have evidently at present more Influence than he has, especially in the Nomination of Aumils and other local Officers.

14. The King was in very good Humour throughout my Visit To-day, and both he and Roshunoodowlah seemed gratified by the Tenor of my Conversation, and the Mode in which I communicated my Opinion.

15. From all I have heard of late of the Conduct of the King it appears to me that he has no Wish himself, generally speaking, to oppress his People, and also that he really regrets the Disorder which now prevails, though he does not probably feel it so much as a Sovereign ought to do; I am likewise inclined to believe he has not himself received any Part of those Bribes which the Aumils and Farmers have lately paid to procure or retain their Situations; but, nevertheless, Time only can prove whether this Country may not be as much misgoverned under the present King as it might be by an avaricious Tyrant, because, unfortunately, his Majesty's Ignorance of Public Affairs, and his general Imbecility of Character, are both extreme, so that he must always be a Tool in the Hands of others, and therefore every thing must depend upon the Characters and Dispositions of those who may guide his Councils, or may act in his Name without consulting him at all; the latter Mode of Proceeding having been often adopted by his several Ministers, ever since his present Majesty succeeded to the Throne.

I have the Honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Lucknow Residency,
6th Nov. 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

(True Copy.)

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Secretary to Government.

No. 82.

No. 82.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to Mr. MACNAGHTEN, dated 13th November 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

REPORTS the principal Occurrences since the Dispatch of the 6th Instant; viz. the Investiture of Roshunoodowlah as Prime Minister, the Appointment of his Son as Commander of the Forces, and of Mewahram as Dewan, and the Continuance of Warfare in Byswarra; states that the King invited the Resident to be present at the Instalment of Roshunoodowlah into Office; and, on the Resident's Refusal, his Majesty requested him to permit Roshunoodowlah to present his Nuzzur in his new Dress, which was also declined for the Reasons detailed.

(Signed)

JAMES PATON,
Assistant Resident.

No. 83.

No. 83.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq., dated
13th November 1832. (Received 5th June 1833.)

Sir,

THE following are the principal Changes that have taken place at this Court since my Dispatch to your Address dated the 6th Instant.

2. Roshun oo Dowlah has received a Khillut of Office as Prime Minister.

3. The Revenue Department is, however, kept separate from the Duties of the new Prime Minister, and Rajah Mewah Ram has received a Khillut of Office as Revenue Administrator.

4. A Son of Roshun oo Dowlah, a Lad of Sixteen, has been appointed Commander of the Forces.

5. The Warfare in the Byswarrah District is still going forward, but the chief Rebel has sent his Family into the Company's Dominions, lest he should be overpowered by the King's Troops now besieging his Fort.

6. The Morning on which Roshun oo Dowlah received his Khillut, the King sent me an earnest Message to request that I would pay him a Visit, and be present at the Investiture of the new Minister, and which I of course declined to do; but about an Hour afterwards another Message was sent to me to request that I would immediately receive a Visit from Roshun oo Dowlah in his new Dress of Office; and further, that the Minister would be allowed to present me with a Nuzzar on the Occasion of his Elevation to the Office of Prime Minister. I thought necessary, in polite Terms, to decline Compliance with this Request, also being convinced that it was proposed for the Purpose of giving the Impression in the Country that the new Appointment had taken place by the Advice of the British Government. I therefore sent back a civil Message to his Majesty, to say that Roshun oo Dowlah had my best Wishes for a successful Administration, but as the British Government took no Part in the Selection of any of his Majesty's Officers, it would not be proper that the new Minister should visit me in the Manner proposed. I added, however, that is to say, in his usual Dress, either the same Afternoon or the following Day, whichever might be agreeable to his Majesty. Roshun oo Dowlah accordingly waited upon me (accompanied by Tajoodeen, the King's Vakeel,) on the following Morning; and to show my personal good Wishes for his Success in his new Duties, I paid him the Compliment of giving him Utter at parting, which he had not expected or received from me on former Occasions, excepting once, when he was first introduced to me.

I have the Honour to be, Sir, &c.

Lucknow Residency, (Signed) J. Low, Resident.
13th November 1832.

(A true Copy.)
(Signed) Geo. Swinton,
Secretary to the Government.

No. 84.

Extract Fort William Political Consultations, 4th June 1832.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 26th April
1832. (Received 7th September 1833.)

Sir,

AT the Visit that I paid to the King on the Evening of the 24th Instant, and more in detail, after I had left his Majesty's Bed-room the Minister gave me a long Account of a Mutiny, which I was aware of before from common Report, in a Body of 350 Golundazes stationed at the Artillery Park, (about Two Miles East of this City,) and in Possession of Thirteen Guns of different Calibres.

2. The Pay of the Artillerymen in question being considered by the Minister as an unnecessary Expence, he had resolved to discharge them, and for that Purpose had paid them all up in full to the 31st Instant.

3. The Men were much discontented at this Measure; but as it was not suspected by the Durbar that so small a Body would attempt any Violence,
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(continued.)

no Measures were taken for securing their Guns or Ammunition previous to delivering their Pay to them, which they all received in full, and promised to make over the Park on the following Morning (that of the 22d Instant) to Dushun Sing, the Commandant of the Brigade of Infantry which is stationed in Barracks at the Distance of little more than Half a Mile of the Post of Artillery ; but when a Party of Dushun Sing's Brigade went, on the 22d Instant, to receive charge of the Guns and Stores, they found to their Surprise that the Artillerymen had taken up a hostile Position, having loaded some of the Guns, and placed them so as to command the circumjacent Plain. The Mutineers at the same Time refused to allow any of Durshun Sing's Party to come within their Position, excepting Two Men to negotiate with ; and to those Persons they announced their Determination not to permit themselves to be discharged, declaring that the Scheme for discharging them was that of the Minister alone, not sanctioned by the King, to whom they said they had applied through Moozuffur Allei Khaun and the Padshah Begum to be continued on the Service.

4. The State of Affairs at the Artillery Park continued nearly in the same Situation as has been just described during the whole of the 22d and 23d Instant ; various Messages were given and received daily by the Durbar and Mutineers ; but the former were resolved not to take back the latter into Service, and the latter were equally resolved, or rather they affected to be so, to force the Government to retain them.

5. The Minister considered the Power of the Mutineers to be quite contemptible, but he did not wish unnecessarily to cause any Loss of Lives ; and he was the more anxious that the Affair should end without Bloodshed, from knowing that the disbanding of these Men was an unpopular Measure in the Minds of Part of the King's Family, especially with Mozuffer Ally Khan, one of his Majesty's Connexions by Marriage, who is the nominal Commandant of Artillery, and who loses a Part of his Patronage and Emoluments by this Measure. Some of the Begums also are said to have interested themselves towards effecting Mozuffer Ally Khan's Desire, that the Artillerymen should not be discharged.

6. On the 24th, however, a Change took place which gave the Minister considerable Uneasiness, and caused some Alarm also in the Public Mind here. It was found that the Mutineers had communicated with another and much larger Party of Artillerymen, consisting of about 700 Men, who are stationed near Moosabagh, about Six Miles to the West of Lucknow. Many Days before this Occurrence it had been arranged by the Durbar that about a Third of the Moosabagh Party were to be disbanded, the Portion to be reduced being Men who had not been many Years in the Service. No Opposition had been made by the Moosabagh Party to the proposed Measure of reducing their Number, and the Government Mootsuddies were occupied in settling the Accounts of Arrears due to the Men. Those who were to be retained were to be paid within One Month of the present Date, and those who were to be discharged were to be paid up in full ; but when the Artillerymen learnt that their Friends in the Lucknow Park were in open Resistance to the Government, their pernicious Example was followed, the Mootsuddies were driven off from Moosabagh, and the whole 700 Men openly declared that they would not permit any of their Body to be discharged ; and further, that they would join the Mutineers at Lucknow.

7. It was the Receipt of this Intelligence that induced the Minister to consult me respecting this now double Mutiny. He said that Things could no longer be allowed to continue as they had been during the Two preceding Days. He told me that it was his Intention, if I approved, to send a large Body of Infantry out to the Distance of about Five Miles to the West of the City of Lucknow, in order to prevent the Moosabagh Artillerymen from leaving their present Position ; and that it was further his Intention to compel the Lucknow Mutineers to quit their Guns by Force if necessary ; professing at the same Time his anxious Wish to settle the Affair without Bloodshed if possible, because he said that he knew very well that the misguided Men were not so much to blame as those in the City who had instigated them to mutiny. He added, however, that he had already given Orders to Durshun Sing's Brigade, consisting of Three Battalions, to take up a Position between the City and the Mutineers, and within Three hundred Yards of the latter, who, he

he said, had announced their Determination to bring forward their Guns, and to fire into the City, if their Demands were not complied with.

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(continued.)

8. I told the Nawab that the Measure of protecting the City from any hostile Movement of the Moosabagh Party appeared to me judicious, provided he would not provoke Hostilities by sending the Infantry too near the Artillery Park for the present; and I advised him, at the same Time, to send some sensible Individual (who was likely from his Character to carry Influence with him) to explain the Folly of their Proceedings to the Moosabagh Party, and to assure them, at the same Time, that no Attack would be made upon them if they would only remain where they were, and return to their Duty. The Minister said he would follow my Advice implicitly; but at the same Time wished that I would send a Chobedar to Moosabagh along with his Messenger, to hold similar Language from me to the Mutineers. I replied that I thought it would be much better that he should bring the Affair to a Conclusion without any direct Assistance from the British Representative, for many Reasons, and among others, that if these Mutineers were induced to return to Obedience only by my Interference, the Troops of all Descriptions, who might in future create Disturbances, would refuse Obedience to his Authority without similar Interference on my Part. The Minister acquiesced in this Reasoning, and did not further urge his Request.

9. In regard to the Measure which the Nawab had already adopted of ordering out Durshim Sing's Brigade to the immediate Vicinity of the Lucknow Park, I told him that if his Object were to spare Bloodshed, the Measure was not a good one, as it might lead to those Acts of Violence which he wished to avoid. I was convinced, I said, that so small a Party of Mutineers would never venture to commence Hostilities against such a Body of Troops, unless under an Apprehension of an immediate Attack being made upon them, more especially so, as the Mutineers had no Cattle wherewith to move their Guns, so that for their own Safety they would not venture to leave their present Position. The Nawab did not seem quite to agree with me as to the probable Acts of the Artillerymen, who, he said, had on many former Occasions been guilty of Violence and Mutiny; adding, that they were now rendered more desperate than ever from the Knowledge of their own unpardonable Crimes. He agreed with me, however, in thinking that for the present it would be better to prevent the Infantry from showing themselves very near to the Mutineers Position; and in my Presence he sent positive Orders to Durshim Sing not to allow his Men to approach very near to the Artillery, nor to make any Demonstration of attacking them, unless from positive Orders to that Effect from the Durbar, and merely to take up such a Position, out of Sight of the Mutineers, as should prevent the latter from leaving the Park in the Direction of the City.

10. Immediately after the above-mentioned Orders were sent to the Infantry Battalions, I returned from the Palace to the Residency, and during the Night of the 24th I heard nothing more of either of the Mutineers.

11. About Eight o'Clock Yesterday Morning Tajoodeen Hoosain Khan was sent to me by the Minister, to say that every thing remained in statu quo in regard to the Mutineers in Lucknow, and he seemed very confident that they would in a few Hours disperse of themselves, from the utter Hopelessness of their Cause. In regard to the Moosabagh Mutiny, he did not seem quite so easy. The Nawab's Nephew, Ahmed Ally Khan, who had been dispatched as a Peace Messenger, had been rejected by the Mutineers, who still declared their Determination not to allow any Part of their Body to be discharged, and also to march to the Assistance of the other Mutineers in Lucknow. They did not, however, make any actual Movement from Moosabagh, though they had advanced some Guns a few Yards from the main Park, the better to command the Roads towards Lucknow. As an additional Measure of Precaution, the Minister ordered out more Troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, which were posted to the West of the City, about Three Miles from Moosabaugh.

12. Nothing more took place in either Direction, that came to my Knowledge, until about Half past Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, when the Guns of the Lucknow Mutineers opened, and kept up an irregular and very slow Fire in the Direction of the City. As all the Inhabitants of Lucknow were previously aware of the Mutiny, the firing, of course, caused very great Alarm. The Bazarmen (especially in the Eastern Part of the City) began to shut up

their

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(continued.)

their Shops; many of the Inhabitants commenced placing their Families in Concealment to the best of their Power; vast Numbers of Labourers and Artificers, employed at a Distance from their Homes, left their Work, crowded the Streets in hastening to join and protect their Families; and the whole City was a Scene of Noise and Confusion, while several contradictory Reports reached me (but none of any Description from the Durbar) of Losses on both Sides: some Accounts said the Rebels were advancing, and several other pretended Details of Facts were given, none of which are worth repeating.

13. This State of Things lasted about an Hour, when Tajooddeen Hossain Khan came to me in great Haste, and evidently much alarmed, and conveyed to me a Request from the King that I would order down the British Troops from the Cantonments, as the best Mode of saving an unnecessary Loss of Lives. I objected to do this, especially as Tajooddeen Hossain Khan could not give me any Information of what was actually passing, excepting what I knew before, that the whole City was in Confusion, and that a few Balls from the Mutineers Guns had reached the Suburbs; but they had not, as far as Tajooddeen Hossain Khan knew, caused any Mischief. He gave me one Piece of Information, however, which, if true, was of an unpleasant Nature; namely, that they were apprehensive in the Durbar that the Infantry were unwilling to oppose the Mutineers, and that great Loss of Life and Property in the City might be apprehended in consequence. Seeing me still unwilling to call down the British Troops, Tajooddeen Hossain Khan told me that the King anticipating, from what the Minister had told him, the Possibility of such an Answer from me, entreated if I did not order down the Troops, that I would immediately repair to the Palace to visit his Majesty, and give him the Benefit of my Advice.

14. I said I had no Objection whatever to visit his Majesty, and I immediately proceeded to the Palace in my Palankeen, after having written a Note to the Officer commanding in the Cantonments, to be sent only if necessary, directing him to hold the Brigade in readiness to march at the shortest Notice. This I thought it right to be prepared for, eventually adverting to the Possibility of the Information above noticed as to the Disaffection of the King's Infantry proving correct; and in the Event of any serious Mischief being likely to occur to the City, the King would have been entitled to our Assistance, because the Mutiny was certainly not caused by any Tyranny or Injustice of the Oude Government. The Arrears of Pay to the Artillery had actually been paid up to them in full, and the Right of the Government to discharge any Portion of its Troops is indisputable.

15. All was Bustle and Confusion when I reached the Gate of the Palace, from the Arrival of new Parties of Troops as extra Guards for the King's Person; but before I had passed through the last Court towards the Building where his Majesty resides, several Horsemen passed me, conveying the welcome Intelligence that the Mutineers had all fled, and that the Guns were in Possession of the King's Troops. I accordingly found his Majesty quite relieved from his Anxiety, and the Minister in excellent Spirits; and the more so, as it was further reported by the Horsemen from the Scene of Action, that no Lives had been lost, in consequence of the Infantry having kept under Cover of a high Bank and in an adjacent Ravine. It was further reported that the Mutineers, although they had not been charged by the King's Troops, had taken alarm at seeing the Number of their Opponents increasing from several Directions, and had fled of their own Accord down the Ravine in their Vicinity, and throwing off their Uniforms, so as to mix unsuspected amongst the Mass of the Inhabitants, had gone off, some through the Constantine Gardens, and others across the Goorntee.

16. The latter Details above noticed have since proved to be incorrect, inasmuch that Six Men of the Mutineers have been found killed (some Accounts say Six), drowned in the Goorntee from being unable to swim; One Man of the King's Troops killed, and Two wounded, besides Eighteen or Twenty Persons (several of whom have since died) having been unfortunately maimed by the Explosion of a Tumbrel, Eight or Ten Minutes after the whole Affair was concluded, at a Time when the Troops and a Number of Spectators were talking the Matter over on the Spot. It is not known by what Accident the Explosion took place.

17. I rode to the Spot this Morning, and after hearing Accounts from all
Quarters,

Quarters, I have reason to think that the following is a correct Statement of what occurred at the Scene of the Mutiny from Three o'Clock Yesterday until it was concluded. It appears that Tajooddeen Hoossein Khan's Information as to any Backwardness on the Part of the Infantry was totally incorrect. On the contrary I find, that getting provoked at being kept so long out in the Heat of the Day, they became impatient to be allowed to attack the Mutineers; and although they did not openly disobey the Orders they had received, yet that many of them began to approach nearer to the Park than they had been desired to do, taking advantage of such Cover as presented itself on the Flanks of the Bank behind which the main Body was posted.

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(continued.)

18. I find that long previous to this a Part of the Mutineers had given up the Cause, and had actually departed; about Two Thirds, however, were still remaining at Half past Three, when seeing a Number of Men getting nearer to their Position, they opened a Fire, with a view of preventing any nearer Approach. The Troops for a long Time received no Damage from the Fire of the Guns, owing to the Banks and Nullahs which protected them, and they remained under Cover. At last, however, after the slow and irregular firing of the Guns formerly alluded to had continued nearly an Hour, one Shot took Effect, and killed an Infantry Sepoy, and wounded Two others. This induced several of the Infantry Sepoys to rise to the Bank of a Nullah, where they were lying, and to fire a few Shot at the Mutineers.

19. One of the Matchlock Balls struck the Head of a Man who by all Accounts had taken a Lead in the Mutiny, while he was in the Act of giving a new Direction to one of the Guns, and caused his instant Death. That Event seems to have been a Signal for the whole Party to give up their mad Scheme, and each Man soon thought of providing for his Safety as best he could.

20. Although the whole firing, reckoning from the Commencement, lasted upwards of an Hour, yet I do not think that above Sixty Shots could have been fired, if so many. The Mutineers seem only to have fired when they fancied that any Portion of the Infantry were likely to approach so as to injure them; and, according to some Accounts, many of the Guns were not shotted.

21. The Flight of the Mutineers appears to have taken place some Minutes before the Infantry were aware of it. Nevertheless a small Party were overtaken by a few of the Infantry, who were anxious to avenge the Death of their Comrade who had been killed by the Gun, and it was thus that Five of the Mutineers were killed between their Position and the Goorntee, and some more of them were drowned in the Attempt to cross the River. I find also that Four or Five Prisoners have been taken.

22. The Infantry found on reaching the Park, and on questioning the few Inhabitants remaining in the Huts in that Vicinity, that the whole of the Bazarmen had deserted the Mutineers before Nine o'Clock Yesterday Morning, carrying their Grain along with them; and this was the Cause of about a Third of the Men taking to flight even at that early Hour.

23. Adverting to those Facts, I think it almost certain that if the Infantry had kept at a greater Distance from the Guns, and had merely taken up a Position for the eventual Protection of the City, the whole of the Mutineers would have dispersed of themselves at Night-fall; that no Guns would ever have been fired, and consequently that no Lives would have been lost on either Side; for if the Artillery had retired without firing, it is unlikely that the Infantry would have pursued them, contrary to the Orders which had been given not to molest the Mutineers if they either submitted or dispersed of their own Accord.

24. Upon the whole, however, it may perhaps be better for future Tranquillity as it actually happened; and at all events, the immediate Effect of the Mutineers having been punished even to the small Extent that occurred, was certainly of Public Utility, by the Effect it produced on the other Mutineers. Immediately after the Guns were in Possession of Durshun Sing's Battalion numerous false Reports flew with Rapidity to the Moosabagh Party, (which was much the most formidable of the Two,) such as that the Lucknow Artillery had been charged by the King's Troops, and that the whole of the Mutineers had been destroyed, &c.; and however wide of Truth these Rumours were, yet they had an immediate good Effect. The Moosabagh Party lost no Time in withdrawing their advanced Guns; and they sent a Message to the

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(continued.)

Durbar to express Contrition for their Misconduct, to declare their Readiness to take their Pay, and to permit any Portion of their Body to be discharged that the Government might think proper. Their Submission was accepted, their Pay is now being distributed, the previously-intended Proportion of the Men are to be discharged, and they have now come into the City to receive their Arrears. All Confusion is at an End both at Moosabagh and Lucknow, and the City has reassumed its usual State of complete Tranquillity.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
26th April 1832.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated
7th May 1832.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 26th Ultimo, reporting a Mutiny which had occurred amongst the King's Artillerymen, and in reply to inform you, that your Conduct throughout the Business therein described has obtained his Lordship's entire Approbation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

Shimla,
7th May 1832.

(True Copies.)
(Signed) W. H. Macnaghten,
Sec. Governor General.

No. 85.

No. 85.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 1st May 1832.

Sir,

WITH reference to my Dispatch of the 26th Ultimo, giving an Account of the late Mutiny, I have the Honour to report, for the Information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, that I find I was then misinformed in one Particular, and one only, to the best of my Belief. I allude here to a Part of the Information which I communicated in the last Para., and which to prevent Trouble in Reference I now quote. It refers to the Moosabaugh Mutineers; viz. "Their Submission was accepted, their Pay is now being distributed; " the previously-intended Proportion of the Men are to be discharged."

2. That Portion of the above Extract which I have now underlined is the only Part which is inaccurate. I now find that although their Submission was accepted, yet that this Acceptance on the Part of the Government only implied that the Men were not to be punished, and that in consequence of their Misconduct a greater Portion of the original Body is now to be permanently discharged than was formerly in contemplation.

3. The Minister told me that it was absolutely necessary to retain some Artillery, both for the Purposes of the State, and to be prepared to overawe with one Branch of the Army any bad Spirit that might in future be evinced by other Branches; and that for the same Reason he thought it useful at all Times to retain a Portion of Cavalry. I advised him nevertheless to avoid the Expence of keeping up a large Party of those Artillerymen who had proved so turbulent; and I took the Opportunity of urging him, as I have often done before, to go on reducing all Branches of the Army from their present preposterous Strength, taking care always to pay up those whom he discharged to the full, so as to prevent his being accused by any one of Injustice, and also to be careful to keep the Troops that were retained in the Service at all Times regularly paid.

4. The Moosabaugh Park has always, I find, been fully provided with a Field Equipment of Gun Bullocks, under Charge of the Commandant. I have now advised the Minister to keep the Cattle separate from the Park, and not under Charge of the Artillery Officers when stationary, but only to be ready to

to be sent thither when required for any Movement; and he has promised to do so.

No. 85.
(continued.)

5. The Nawab now intends he tells me, to retain only about Two hundred and fifty Artillerymen in all, for the Two Stations of Moosabaugh and Lucknow, instead of the former Number, which amounted to upwards of a Thousand Men; and for the present he has discharged the *whole Number* lately at Moosabaugh, meaning in the course of the next Week to re-enlist about 250 of those who were the least connected with the late Disturbances, and to obtain the best Security he can for their future good Conduct.

6. The Measure of discharging the whole of the Moosabaugh Troops had been adopted before the Minister discussed the Subject with me, and the Plan seems to me to be judicious. The Men are now anxiously soliciting the Advantage of being restored; and with respect to those who are now to be enlisted, the very Circumstance of their having actually been discharged from the Service (although only for a few Days) will tend to lessen the Probability of their again risking the Loss of it by Disobedience in future to the Orders of their Government.

Lucknow Residency,
1st May 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated
11th May 1832.

Sir,
I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 1st Instant, and in reply to observe, that the Information now submitted does not appear to call for any further Remark from his Lordship.

Shimla,
11th May 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

No. 86.

No. 86.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 7th January 1833.

LETTER from Major J. Low to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated 19th November 1832. (Received 10th March 1834.)

Sir,
I HAVE herewith the Honour to enclose a Letter from the King of Oudh to the Address of the Right Honourable the Governor General, of which his Majesty requested me to be the Bearer. The chief Purport of the King's Letter is to convey, in very earnest Terms, an Invitation to his Lordship to Visit Lucknow before returning to Calcutta. The King further intimates, however, in his Letter, that I am to make a verbal Communication on his Part to the Governor General; but when I questioned his Majesty as to the Nature of the Communication alluded to, he merely replied, "It would gladden my Heart to see the Governor General again here, and I trust entirely to your saying every thing that is proper," from which I conclude, that he only meant that I should personally express his anxious Wish to have the Honour of a Visit from his Lordship at Lucknow.

Camp at Agra,
19th November 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

ABSTRACT TRANSLATION of a LETTER from the King of Oude to the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated 14th November 1832.

ALTHOUGH your Lordship has distinguished me much with your Kindness and Friendship above what existed between the former Heads of the Two States in an eminent Degree, yet I am always thinking of your Lordship's Kindness and Urbanity, agreeably to the Saying, "My Heart is always satisfied
(130.)" by

No. 86. " by thinking of thee; for this is a Meeting which the Sort of Absence
(continued.) " does not pursue; and I thus enjoy your Lordship's Company," but what
— can be done with these longing Eyes; I am always anxious to have an Interview with you. As your Lordship now leaves the Hill Country for the Western Provinces, and will pass this Neighbourhood, my Desire of seeing your Lordship has increased, especially as Major Low is going to see your Lordship, which I envy. I therefore trust, that after your Lordship shall have freed yourself from the important State Affairs which now engage your Attention, you will favour me with an Interview.

For the rest, Major Low will state to your Lordship personally the Friendship and Attachment I entertain for your Lordship. I content myself with Two Words: I know nobody but your Lordship, and I care not for any one else. I pride myself on this.

(Abstract Translation.)

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from his Majesty the KING of OUDH. (Received 20th November 1832.)

After Compliments,

STATES that the Intelligence of the Right Honourable the Governor General's Return from the Hills, and his Lordship's Approach to the Vicinity of his Country, has increased his Anxiety for an Interview a Thousand-fold, particularly Major John Low being about to proceed to have the Honour of a personal Meeting with his Lordship, which good Fortune of that Officer he cannot but envy; hopes, therefore, that whenever his Lordship will finish his Tour in the Western Provinces, he may honour his Capital with his Presence, which will afford him high Gratification.

The Sentiments of Friendship and Regard, as well as his Wishes, will be communicated to his Lordship by Major Low, to whom he has entrusted the same. He concludes with saying that he has no other Friend, nor does he know any other Person to depend on than his Lordship, and hence he feels himself quite happy.

(True Abstract.)

(Signed)

C. E. TREVELYAN,
Deputy Secretary.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to his Majesty the KING of OUDH, dated 14th December 1832.

I HAVE had the Pleasure to receive your Majesty's friendly Letter of the 15th of November, brought to me by Major Low, expressing your Wish that I should visit you at Lucknow.

I much regret that it is out of my Power to comply with the Request of your Majesty; and it would be useless, as well as uncandid, were I to attempt to conceal from you the Reasons which prevent me from gratifying your Majesty in the present Instance. I say useless, because Matters appear to have come to such an Extremity that decided Measures are imperatively required, either on the Part of your Majesty, or of the British Government, to restore Tranquillity to your Kingdom.

It was my Intention to have paid you a Visit on my present Journey to Calcutta, when I expected to have been able to have congratulated your Majesty personally on a Continuation of those great Improvements which, at the Time I formed the Intention alluded to, were in progress in the Management of your Country, but since that Time a melancholy Change has taken place. I now receive Accounts almost daily of open Insurrection, of extensive Decoities, and of Robberies on the high Road, in various Parts of your Country. I learn also, from very authentic Sources, that the Oppressions committed on the unfortunate Inhabitants by some of your lately-appointed Farmers and Aumils are compelling your Subjects either to oppose your Officers by Force, or to take refuge in the Company's Territories; in short, every thing gives Evidence of such a State of Anarchy and Confusion as cannot fail of being ruinous to the People, and in the highest Degree disgraceful to the Government.

Under

Under such Circumstances it would, in my Opinion, be quite improper in me to visit your Capital; and I am therefore under the painful Necessity of declining to do so. I had indeed hoped, that by a Course of Proceeding on the Part of your Government totally different from what has been pursued during the last Four Months, from those injurious Consequences to your Honour and Interests, which you have already been fully and repeatedly warned must necessarily follow the Misgovernment of your Country.

This Hope has proved visionary, and it will only remain for me to advise with my Council as to the Measures which should be adopted in this Crisis to secure common Justice to the People of Oudh, with the least possible Violation of the Feelings and Dignity of your Majesty.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to Major J. Low, dated
14th December 1832.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 19th Ultimo, together with its Enclosure, and to request that you will deliver to the King of Oudh the accompanying Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor General in reply to the Communications received from His Majesty, of which you were the Bearer.

2. Your Dispatch, under Date the 11th Instant, will be separately replied to.

Camp Ooprah,
14th December 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

No. 87.

No. 87.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 4th February 1833.

LETTER from Major J. Low to Mr. Chief Secretary SWINTON, dated
23d January 1833.

Sir,

IN consequence of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor General, expressive of his Lordship's Desire that I should meet him at Benares, I have the Honour to report that I mean to leave Lucknow this Evening, and that I have directed Captain Paton to take charge of the ordinary Duties of the Residency during my Absence.

Lucknow Residency,
23d January 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 88.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 12th February 1833.

LETTER from J. Low, to W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq., dated
19th October 1832. (Received 10th March 1834.)

Sir,

I HAVE herewith the Honour to enclose a Letter this Day received from Captain Paton, dated the 7th Instant, giving Cover to the Translation of one which that Officer addressed on that Day to the King of Oude.

Camp at Manamow Ghat,
19th October 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 88.
(continued.)

LETTER from JAMES PATON Esq. to J. Low Esq., dated 7th December 1832.

Sir,

IN consequence of your protracted Absence at the Head Quarters of the Governor General, I thought it would be only a proper Mark of Attention on my Part to pay the King the Compliment of a Visit; and believing this to be in accordance with your Wishes, I, several Days ago, had it intimated to his Majesty that I intended to visit him: he fixed upon this Day, and I accordingly went.

2. Before going it appeared to me not only a Duty in a public point of view, but as his Well-wisher, to speak to him of the ruinous Prospects of his Government; and as from the present quiescent State of Affairs between the King and the Residency, I am led to believe that he is much lulled into a forgetful Security by the false Strains of Flattery and Delusion which self-interested Intriguers pour into his Ears; and further, as in a Visit to him, unless direct Reference were made to the prevailing Mismanagement, Courtesy of Manner, and Silence upon this important Head, might lead his Majesty into the Belief that all was well; I should therefore have blamed myself did I not keep his Attention awake to the repeated Warnings which you have given him regarding the ruinous State to which his Affairs appear advancing. But instead of speaking upon the Subject, which would have been painful to both Parties, I thought it better to address the Letter to his Majesty, of which the enclosed is a Copy and Translation; and on taking Leave of the King, I told him that I should send him this Letter, to which I seriously requested his own particular Attention; and shortly after my Return to the Residency it was accordingly sent.

3. Reshun oo Dowlah the Minister was the only Person present at the private Interview, and no Reference whatever was made to Business, the Conversation having been quite unimportant. I should mention that the King requested me to write to you expressing how anxious he was to see you again, and that he hoped you would not prolong your Stay.

4. On leaving the private Room the King led me to see his Picture now painting; and as the Subject of his Majesty's Charity of Three Lacs of Rupees was here introduced, it is proper to relate the following brief Conversation regarding it: I said that the Picture would remain a Memorial of his Majesty, and that the Charity he was now about to establish would also leave his Name behind; he replied, that the Charity would be the best Memorial of the Two.

5. On leaving the private Apartment we met Mr. Shelly of H.M. 26th Regiment, who has come to Lucknow on a Visit to me of Two Days, to see the City, Palaces, &c., and whom I had taken with me for the Purpose of showing him these Buildings, and, perchance, the King fell in the Way, and as we happened to meet him I introduced him to the King, and on taking Leave Hars were as usual given.

Lucknow Residency,
7th December 1832.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

LETTER from JAMES PATON Esq. to his Majesty the King of Oude,
dated 7th December 1832.

I AM about to show your Majesty that I am your Well-wisher by the Performance of a Duty which is painful to me. Doubtless had the Resident been here there would have been a Meeting between your Majesty and him within the Period of his Departure and Return, and in that Interview the Language of Truth and Sincerity as to the ruinous Prospect of your Affairs would probably have been used by the Resident, and might have proved of Service to you; it therefore becomes me, whom the Resident has left behind to communicate with your Majesty, to do those friendly Acts which the Resident would have done had he been here, namely, to repeat to you, in the Spirit of one who is your Well-wisher, that in the Estimation of all sensible Men the Affairs of your Kingdom are hastening to Ruin, and to beseech you to bear in mind the melancholy Consequences.

Should your Majesty be displeased with this Letter, on my Part, let it be remembered that he is the real Friend who tells the Truth, however painful, whilst he is a deceitful Enemy who flatters, and says that all is well when Ruin

is progressing. To write your Majesty such a Letter is painful to me, but, anticipating increasing Evils, I should reproach myself were I to have neglected this friendly Duty; and whatever happens hereafter I shall at least have the Consolation to reflect, that I had given your Majesty Warning; and what could prompt me to pain myself by writing you such a Letter as this, but a Desire for your Welfare.

No. 88.
(continued.)

7th December 1832.

(True Copy.)

(Signed)

JAMES PATON,
Assistant in Charge.

LETTER from W. H. MACNAGHTEN Esq. to J. Low Esq., dated
31st December 1832.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General to acknowledge the Receipt of a Letter from you, dated the 19th Instant, submitting Translation of a Letter addressed by Lieutenant Paton to his Majesty the King of Oude.

2. The Governor General desires me to request, that you will inform Lieutenant Paton of the Satisfaction which his Lordship derived from perusing his Letter to the King, which appears to have been properly and judiciously worded, and well calculated to answer the Purpose for which it was designed.

I have, &c.

Camp Soraee,
31st December 1832.

(Signed)

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

LETTER from J. Low Esq. to the Chief Secretary to Government Fort William,
dated 20th January 1833.

Sir,

1. ON the following Day after my late Return to Lucknow I waited upon the King, and delivered to him the Letter, of which I was the Bearer, from the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated the 14th of December, and which his Majesty read in my Presence.

2. The Letter in question at first produced rather a Relief than otherwise to his Majesty's Mind, owing to a Combination of Circumstances, which I think it right to mention as a Matter of Information.

3. It seems that the King had become seriously alarmed at my prolonged Absence, and had feared that there might be Truth in some Reports which had reached him; that the Governor General was going forthwith to deprive him of almost all Power, and to re-appoint Moontuzun oo Dowlah as Minister, under the special Guarantee and Control of the British Government.

4. After some Discussion, however, respecting the State of Confusion in the Country, and some of those Acts of Cruelty on the Part of the Chukladars and Aumils which had been committed during the previous Five or Six Weeks, his Majesty professed to be sensible to a considerable Extent of the Mismanagement of the present Administration.

5. The King having admitted that Misrule did exist, I then begged him to read a Second Time, and to reflect upon the concluding Part of the Governor General's Letter; and I warned him in the most friendly and serious Manner of the serious Risk he would incur if the present State of Misrule should continue to prevail. His Majesty, in reply, professed great Anxiety to have Order restored, both for the sake of his own Subjects and with a view of giving Satisfaction to the British Government; and he declared that I should, without fail, see wonderful Improvements in One Month from that Time.

6. His Majesty confessed, in the course of this Conversation, that there were too many People then giving Orders on the important Affairs of his Government, which led, he said, both to Confusion and Bribery. He said further, that this was partly his own Fault for not having given more complete Authority to Roshun oo Dowlah, but that it was now his Intention, he said, to give full Powers to that Minister; and he took particular Pains to declare more than once, that he had entire Confidence, both "in the Ability and Integrity of Raushun oo Dowlah." Lastly, his Majesty begged that I would not make any detailed Report for a few Weeks, when he was sure, he said, that I would

be his Friend, and announce to the Governor General that great improvements had taken place.

7. I replied, that I would comply with this Request by not making any Report for a short Time, and that nothing would give me greater Pleasure than to write favourable Accounts of his Government, but that I could not trust, and I begged his Majesty also not to trust to mere Promises on the Part of his Minister of material Improvements in his Government. His Majesty, I said, must satisfy himself that his good Intentions were really carried into effect; and I endeavoured to convince him that such a happy Change could only be effected both by the Minister himself doing his Duty efficiently, and by his compelling the local Authorities in the Country to act in the same Manner; but I assured his Majesty at the same Time, with the utmost Sincerity, that I would give the Minister every Encouragement in my Power to do his Duty properly, and that if he did effect any Improvements it would give me the highest Satisfaction to report them to the Right Honourable the Governor General; while on the other hand, if the present State of Misrule should continue, I should be under the Necessity of stating the Fact to my own Government without Reserve.

8. In the course of the Conversation above adverted to I pointed out some very glaring Acts of Oppression which had been lately committed in various Directions, and especially by Dhowkul Sing, the new Aumil of the Salone District; but I could get no Answer from the King, excepting that no such Practices should be permitted in future; that proper Orders should be immediately issued, and that if any disobeyed them they should be removed and punished.

9. The King latterly sent for Roshum oo Dowlah, with the Object, I fancy, of getting rid of all further Conversation on Public Affairs, for immediately that the Minister took his Seat his Majesty began consulting him and me both about the projected Alterations in his Palace. I listened patiently to the trifling Discourse alluded to, but I took an Opportunity, as soon as Politeness would admit of it, of stating to the Minister the Substance of what had just passed between me and his Master, and I earnestly recommended to the Minister, if he valued the King's Happiness and Prosperity, not to lose a Moment in establishing a mild and just Government, referring him to the Governor General's Letter, by which he would see the Impressions which the late Misrule had already made on his Lordship's Mind, and also the serious Risk which the King would incur if a decided Improvement did not speedily take place in the Management of this State.

10. Roshum oo Dowlah was profuse in his Promises of speedy Changes for the better, especially in the disturbed Districts; and the King stated to me, that it was his Intention to send the Minister to me frequently, to ask my Advice as to all important Measures. I replied, that my best Advice and Co-operation were at all Times at his Service, but I begged him at the same Time to bear in mind, first, that Advice could be of no Use unless there was a Disposition to follow it; and next, that if he and his Minister would both seriously endeavour to govern well, very little Advice from me would be required; and that if the Minister possessed "Ability and Integrity," which the King gave him Credit for, he could not fail to succeed in a Country like this, which is composed of the most fertile Soil, abundantly inhabited, and fully protected from all Disturbances on the Part of Foreign Enemies.

11. The King, at the Close of Conference, said, that he would occasionally visit me at the Residency, and that he would frequently request me to visit him at his Palace; I replied, that I should be happy to see him in either Way as often as he pleased.

12. As this Letter has extended to a considerable Length, and relates almost entirely to a single Conference with the King and his Minister, I think it better not to advert on this Occasion to any other Subject, and I shall To-morrow have the Honour of addressing again respecting the general Conduct of this Durbar during the last Month, when I will at the same Time transmit to you some separate Papers of Intelligence which have reached me since my Return from the Governor General's Camp.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
20th January 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

REPORTS the Delivery of the Governor General's Letter to the King, which at first gave relief to his Majesty's Mind, for Reasons detailed, but that the King seemed subsequently sensible of the disturbed State of the Country arising from the Conduct of the local Officers; and having been warned by the Resident of the serious Consequence that would result from such a State of Things, his Majesty expressed his Anxiety to have Order restored, and stated his Intention of giving full Powers to Roshun oo Dowlah. Notices the King's Request, that the Resident would not make a detailed Report of the State of Affairs in Oude for some Weeks. The Resident gives Advice to the King, and states his Readiness to give his Advice to the Minister at all Times. The Minister was latterly called in, and the Resident exhorted him to lose no Time in establishing a mild and just Government, which the Minister promised to do. States that the King said that he would frequently send Roshun oo Dowlah to the Residency, and that he himself would often have Conference with the Resident, to which the latter readily assented. In conclusion, promises to make a separate Report on the Conduct of the Oude Government since the Resident's Return to Lucknow.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from J. Low Esq. to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated
21st January 1833.

Sir,

1. ADVERTING to the concluding Paragraph of my Dispatch of Yesterday's Date, I have now the Honour to report the general Conduct of this Government, as far as I am aware of it, since my Return from the Governor General's Camp on the 20th Ultimo.

2. In the first place, I may mention that the King's voluntary Assurances that he would often send for me to the Palace, and occasionally visit me at the Residency, were not once verified during the Period in question.

3. The Minister visited me Three Times, but always endeavoured to avoid all Discussions as to the Public Measures of his Administration. I gave him every Encouragement in my Power to do so.

4. Some Cases of unjust Proceedings having occurred, however, in the City, towards Persons under the Guarantee of the British Government, such as Attempts on the Part of the Minions of the Palace to force Sales of Houses far under the Value placed upon them by the Owners, I insisted upon strict Inquiry being made into them, as it is but fair to state, that Roshun oo Dowlah adjusted them to my Satisfaction.

5. In discussing various Cases of extensive Oppression in the Country, which I thought it my Duty to bring to the Minister's Notice, Two Facts appeared to me quite evident, first, that Roshun oo Dowlah deemed them of very little Consequence, such Occurrences often happening, according to his Notions, in every Country; and the other is, that he has not the Power to remedy such Evils; he is only *nominally* Minister; the real Power being in the Hands of many Persons, but chiefly the Padshah Begum, the King's favourite Wife Koodseeah Begum, and a Man named Soobhaun Allee Khan, who held an Office many Years ago under a Collector in the Company's Provinces, and was dismissed for Corruption.

6. The Three Persons above mentioned often insist upon the Minister appointing different Persons to Office from those he had previously intended to nominate; and as he believes that his own Duration in Office depends entirely on the Will of the Begum, he does not dare to offer any Opposition to their Wishes.

7. A very remarkable Case of this Kind occurred lately. The Son of the Minister (a Lad of Seventeen or Eighteen Years of Age) is Commander of the Forces, and it was necessary to appoint a Naib or Deputy. The Minister was about to appoint a Man of his own, when a Message was sent to him openly by Koodseeah Begum, (by a Woman called Atoo), that if he did not appoint a Man of her's, named Laljee, he should be dismissed from his Office of Minister. Laljee was accordingly appointed, and he paid 60,000 Rupees for the Appointment,

ment, of which about a Third was given to the Minister to in good Humour; the Remainder was paid to Koodseeah Begum.

8. In regard to the State of the Country there is not so much open fare going forward as there was but a few Weeks ago. The resisting Zemindars in the Byswarah District having been overpowered by the superior Force of the King's Troops, fled, some into the Company's Provinces, and others have concealed themselves in other Districts of Oude.

9. But the Distress of the Inhabitants in the Districts of Byswarah and Salons is but little diminished by the Circumstance above noticed, for the Amils have several Battalions and Field-pieces at their Command, and they march about the Country whenever they please, accompanied by those lawless Bands, (all much in Arrears of Pay,) in order to collect the Revenue; and the Cruelties which they inflict on the Inhabitants are by all Accounts dreadful.

10. On one Occassion lately, Dhoulkul Sing, the Amil of Salone, marched suddenly with Three Battalions and Six Guns into the Amethee Pergunnah, for the Purpose, as he reported to the Durbar, of apprehending Two absconded Zemindars. The Zemindars, as might have been expected by any Man of common Sense, were not apprehended, as the March of so large a Body of Troops with Guns had reached their Ears in full Time to enable them to make their Escape, but the Troops surrounded Three Villages, and ultimately plundered them all. Dhoulkul Sing's Excuse for surrounding those Villages was, that he had previously every Reason to believe that the absconded Zemindars were at that Moment concealed in one or other of them; and in regard to his having plundered the Villages, I have not learnt what Account he has given of the Affair; but I do not imagine that any detailed Explanation would be required for his Safety, protected as he is by the Koodseeah Begum.

11. The above Transaction, and another very atrocious one which occurred at Roodowlee, a District farmed by Bukhtauri Sing, and which is mentioned below,* were Cases of such glaring Oppression, that I insisted upon seeing the King to explain them to him; and after being several Times put off, on the Score of his Indisposition, I obtained an Audience of his Majesty Three Days ago.

12. I found the King really unwell, which gave a natural Excuse for avoiding much Discussion; but I still thought it necessary to explain the State of Affairs to him distinctly, and I told him that as the Governor General would in a few Weeks hence arrive at Calcutta, when he would certainly consult with his Council as to what Measures it would be necessary to adopt as regards Oude, I was most anxious, as the King's sincere Well-wisher, to see an amended state of Affairs as soon as possible; and I warned his Majesty, that if the British Government were to adopt strong Measures, it would afterwards be too late for the King to endeavour to perform those Duties which he was now neglecting.

13. His Majesty was evidently a good deal affected, and he gave me many Assurances, (in which he was sincere, I think, at the Moment,) that he would put a Stop to all further Oppression in the Country; he called in the Minister, to whom he gave Orders to that Effect; and the latter again promised, as before, to exert himself; but I fear the Promises of both will have the same Fate as their former ones; and I can only say, that if it be otherwise, I shall faithfully report it, and shall have great Pleasure in apprizing the Governor General in Council of any Amendment that may take place, for no Man can be more anxious than I am to avoid Interference so long as such Policy is justifiable.

* The Roodowlee Case may be explained in a few Words.

Surfuraz Ahmud, the Chowdree of Roodowlee, was accused many Years ago (in the Reign of Saadut Alle Khan) of having in his Possession Treasures belonging to another Person, who has been dead long ago. Inquiries were made in the last Reign, when the Chowdree was fully acquitted of the Charge laid against him. Some of the present Advisers of the King, however, revived the Story with the view, either of getting Possession of the supposed Treasure, or to levy a Contribution on the Chowdree; and, in consequence of this, Troops with Guns were sent to Roodowlee; the Houses of Twenty-five of the most respectable People, including Bankers, were surrounded, and the Chowdree was brought a Prisoner to Lucknow, where he is still in Confinement in the House of Kadir Khan, the Son of Koodseeah Begum's favourite Female Servant, Atoo, who, I understand, demands about 30,000 Rupees for his Release. The Troops and Bindars are still posted round the Houses in Roodowlee, and prevent all Egress of the Inhabitants.

On the King and Minister are certainly a good deal alarmed at the present State of Things,—at a manifest Diminution of the Revenue, at the Risk of Mutinies among the Troops for Want of their Pay, and, above all, at the Risk which his Majesty now incurs of the British Government adopting some Measures that may be injurious to his Dignity; and, to all Appearance, they are really about to adopt some Measures at least that will be beneficial, such as the Dismissal of Dhowtrul Sing and some other notorious Tyrants; at least the Minister Yesterday announced to me that such is the Intention of the Durbar,—“The King being now convinced,” said the Minister, “that they were really oppressing the People.” I told the Minister that the Removal of Men thus proved to be Tyrants was undoubtedly a good Measure, provided Care was taken to replace them by Men of an opposite Character; but that the radical Fault was the Corruption at the Source of all Appointments, viz. the Capital, and that until that shall be remedied I had no Hopes of any material Improvement in the general State of Affairs. Roshun oo Dowlah replied, that I should myself see a vast Change in that respect also from this Moment forward, because the King had “now,” he said, given to him the same full Powers that had been enjoyed by Mootuznoodowlah.

15. From what I have learned since I began this Dispatch I have Reason to believe that Dhowkul Sing, the Nazim of Salone, is about to be removed from Office in a few Days hence, and the Measure can scarcely fail to do some good, inasmuch as that it is next to impossible that so infamous a Tyrant can be found as his Successor. But whether any material Improvement shall take place in the general Management of this Government, under the present Administration, can only be proved by Time.

16. I herewith enclose a Paper containing several Heads of Intelligence respecting those Occurrences in the Country which have come to my Knowledge since my Return to Lucknow from the Governor General's Camp.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
21st January 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

P. S. Since the above was written I find that Surfuraz Ahmud, the Chowdry of Rodowlee, has been this Day released from Confinement, and that he is to receive a Killut from the King by way of Remuneration for his Sufferings. The Minister has just sent me a Message to that Effect, and also to say that the Information lodged against the Chowdree of having Four Lacs of Rupees buried in his House since the Time of Saadut Allee Khan has proved to be a Mistake.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 21st January 1833.

STATES that the King did not keep his Promise of consulting with the Resident, and that the Minister did not seek his Advice, though encouraged to do so; but that the Minister settled the Affairs of some Dependents of the British Government to the Resident's Satisfaction. Notices Two Facts, viz. that the Minister thinks very little of the Sufferings of the Country, and that he has no Power to direct the Affairs of the State. Alludes to the Interference of the Begums, &c. and to the Appointment of Laljee as Deputy to the Commander of the King's Troops, in opposition to the Minister's Wishes. Notices the present State of the Country, the Attack made by Dhowkul Sing on Three Villages, and the Case of Surfaraz Ahmud, the Chowdree of Rodowlee. States the Purport of the Conversation with the King when these Occurrences were brought to his Majesty's Notice. The King and Minister promise to put an End to Oppression in the Country, the Removal of Dhowkul Sing, &c. being reported to be a preliminary Measure. States that the Minister is said to be now invested with full Powers; and incloses Paper of Intelligence; reports the Release of Sarafraz Ahmed.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 88.
(continued.)

INTELLIGENCE respecting Occurrences in the Country from the 16th
December to the 10th January 1833.

16th December.—Robbers plundered Scetaram and Mud Lall Banyans, on the Road between Bhidursa and Shahgung, in the District of Puchumruth, and wounded Scetaram.

In Mohun Thieves wounded Nulha and Keysoo, Inhabitants of Numanbung, and robbed them of all their Property.

The absconded Afghuns of Behreemow, in Byswarrah, committed a Decoitee in the Village belonging to Dyageer and other Fakeers, and plundered the Property of the Inhabitants. Dyageer, having complained of this Act of Aggression to the Nuzim Ram Deen without Effect, wounded himself with a Knife.

An Affray took place between Abdoollah Beg Tuhseeldar of Gopeemow and the Zemindar of Bhunsaree, whom he had proceeded to apprehend. One Zemindar was killed by the Tuhseeldar, and Six Men were wounded. Seven of the Tuhseeldar's Sepoys were wounded. The Tuhseeldar brought away with him Forty-three Men and Women Captives from the Village.

17th December.—The Troops of the Aumil, Chowkul Sing, attacked the Fort of Boonead Sing and Beudha Sing, Zemindars of Shahmow, and advanced the Batteries to near the outer Gate of the Fortress. In this Affair Four of the Aumil's Sepoys were killed, and Thirty wounded. A Follower of the Zemindars, who had been made Prisoner, stated that some of the Zemindars Adherents had also been wounded. The King's Troops are dismayed by the Enemy's Fire.

18th December.—Boonead Sing and Burdha Sewuck, Zemindars of Shahmow, who were fighting with Dhowkul Sing, Nazim of Salone, fled at Night from their Gurhee, with 150 Followers. The Aumil's Troops pursued and surrounded the Fugitives. A Conflict then took place, in which Burdha Sewuck and Thirty-six of his Followers were killed by the Aumil's Troops, and Twelve were wounded. Boonead Sing having made his Escape in the Tumult, Rajah Sheodeen Sing and the Nazim caused the Head of Burdha Sewuck to be severed from the Body, and sent it by Samars to Lucknow. They then took possession of the Fort. The Body of Burdha Sewuck was thrown on the high Road.

19th December.—Dhur Mungul Sing, Zemindar of Jeedpore, in Femda, committed a Dacoitee at Kulka Daodpore, and plundered the Ryuts.

Gunesh Deen committed a Dacoitee in the House of Jooreed Abdar, and plundered all his Property.

21st December.—His Majesty's and the Honourable Company's Dawk Peons were plundered of all their Property by Dacoits in Duriabad.

In an Affray between the Brahmins living in Sherepore and Barown Sing, Zemindar of that Village, in Jaun Boys Elaka, Four Men were killed and Two were wounded.

22d December.—Uskur Allee, Chowdree of Juhowna, set fire to the Village of Dulheepoord, and carried off as much Property as he could.

In Rumbeerpore a Dispute took place between Burjore Sing, Sepoy, and Makhun, a Peasant, for abusing the latter's Father. The Peasant wounded Four Sepoys, and absconded.

In Bahraitch, Bhowary Buksh, Zemindar, sent People to seize Patyee, Mookuddum of Nahadpore. They apprehended his Son, in consequence of which an Affray took place, in which Eight Men were wounded.

Mohun Lall, the Mohurrir of Gopamow, had revolted, and is preparing for Opposition in his Gurhee of Tumhurour, which he is strengthening by digging a Ditch.

Humwurd Sing, Talookdar of Rampore in Salone, is prepared for Opposition, having a great Number of Adherents and Five Guns. He refuses paying the Revenue, and has constructed Batteries at the Distance of a Mile from his Fortress.

23d December.—In Futtehpore the Elaka of Koondum Lall Dacoits committed a Dacoitee at Banleed Puttee, in the House of Dulup Passee. They wounded him and carried off his Property.

Humwicut Sing, Talookdar of Rampore in Salone, who is prepared for Opposition, has sent his Family to the Company's Territories.

In

Hydergurrh, Bugmunt Sing, Zemindar of Lakhoopore attached to Sudhour, made an Attack on the Village Rumakabad, and carried off the Cultivation, to exact Money from them. (continued.)

24th December.—Purshad Sing, Zemindar of Nien in Bisma, told the Aumil Kundun Lall, in answer to his Threats, that he (the Aumil) had the Kubooleuts signed by him forcibly, and nobody would become his Security; the Aumil got displeased and tied up his Hands, and hoisted him upon a Toddy Tree, and let him down when he began to bleed, and he fainted. He is now in Confinement.

On the 20th December the Hukoomut Rae, Zilladar of Aosuranpore in Sidhour, in Koondun Lall's Elaka, resumed the Nankar of every Landholder, and no Notice is taken of this Measure.

In Durshun Sing's Elaka, Hurburnse, Inhabitant of Pisonee, killed the Son of Meknee. She complained to the Tuhseeldar, who took no Notice of the Murderer, though the Perpetrator of the Deed was in his Camp.

At Bynour, Robbers plundered Dhowkul Sing and Jomaher on their Return Home, and wounded them with Swords and Clubs.

Robbers wounded and plundered Two Travellers at Ihaloter.

25th December.—In Fakeer, Mohommed Khan's Elaka, Dacoits committed a Dacoitee in Narain's House at Mhmood Nugger, and plundered his Property.

In Durshun Sing's Elaka, Malook Chund killed Hunomam Sing, a joint Proprietor of his Brother Qudan Sing's Village.

Robbers killed Peera near Chullapore in Bareilly, and absconded.

In a Dispute about some Lands in Belgram, between Khooshhalee and Lukhee, the former was wounded, and the latter killed.

Word was brought to the Naib Chukladar of Hydergurrh, that Bhuugmunt Sing, Zemindar of Lahoopore in Sudhour, had attacked the Village of Kurnalabad, and carried off a Number of the Inhabitants.

Two Samars, stationed at Mohan to prevent Oppression on the Part of the Custom House Kolewal, exact Toll from the People travelling in Hackerries.

A Foorsut Sing, Inhabitant of Basonree in Hydergurrh, committed a Dacoitee in Bhomany Buksh's House at Khowlee, and wounded him. Foorsut Sing was killed by Bhomaneer Buksh's Servants, but his Followers absconded.

Robbers plundered the Servant of Kooja Mull Mahajun near Ladheepore in Hussumpore, and wounded him.

27th December.—A Dacoitee was committed by some unknown Persons in Mouza Lalapore. The Inhabitants were robbed of all their Property.

28th December.—Petee and others committed a Dacoitee in Poora and Bhungra, in Ramnugur Dhamaree, and plundered the Ryots.

1st January.—Peera Sing, Zalem Sing, and Nurat Sing were coming to Lucknow with Grain: a Dispute took place between them and the People of Ram Buksh, &c. at Subhapore, in which Fifteen were wounded on both Sides.

2d January.—Roop Sing, the absconded Zemindar of Makundhona, committed a Dacoitee in the House of Cheeta, Zemindar of Buckkorr, and plundered all his Property. Punchum Sing, Zemindar of Kotha, also committed a Dacoitee in the House of Kulla Passee, and carried off Keyooa, who lived in his House.

In Bahraitch, the Zemindars of Pursunda in Guarich, wounded Three Brothers of Namdar Khan Toovumdar, who were travelling that Way.

3d January.—Nasir Allie, the absconded Zemindar of Saddoolapore, committed a Dacoitee in Lukhoawan, and plundered the Villagers. The Aumil refused to seize the Dacoits.

In Jaun Begh's Elaka, Jowgeen killed the Son of Heag Banyan, who avenged the Death of his Son by killing the Murderer. The Zemindar of the Village seized the Property of the Banyan.

A Traveller was killed by Robbers in Perguina Mowrawan.

In Dhoruhra, Bhoree Sing buried Bosurta alive, on the Supposition that he had killed the Zemindar's Brother by Magic.

In Esawlee, Duttay Khan, &c., committed a Dacoitee, in Ameers Khan's House, killed him, wounded his Wife and Aunt, and plundered his Property.

In Sandee, Dowlat Allee, Zemindar of Pousutnugur, has assumed a hostile Position.

6th January.—The Wife of the late Madar Buksh, Talookdar of Nanparah,

No. 88. had seized Sultumut Khan, Lalabut Khan, and Pershaud Chodwree, sent
(continued.) off towards Putunha.

The Zemindar of Bungeremw sent Sepoys for the Seizure of Ginga Sing, Dacoit, to Bharoma, on which Occasion a Toondar and Sepoy were wounded, and the Dacoit killed; his Head was sent to the Nazim Dhowkul Sing.

7th January.—Sumbhur Jowk, &c., Zemindars of Rora, committed a Dacoitee, and killed Three Joint Sharers. The Aumil's People apprehended Two of the Dacoits.

In Welagut, Alge Khan's Elaka, the British Officer commanding the Post of Pukra sent word to the Tuhseeldar, that there being Hostilities between the Copartners of Pukra, the Bullets fell into the Cantonments; and desired the Tuhseeldar to reconcile the Parties, to prevent Loss of Lives in the Cantonments.

Surfraz Ahmud, the Chowdree of Roodowla, and his Brother, Imdad Ahmud, are Prisoners in the House of Kadir Khan, the adopted Son of the Atos Aitoress of Koodseea Begum; Surfraz Ahmud is not allowed to speak to any one. Kadir Khan desires him to give up the Deposit Money of the late Meh-dee Allee Khan, or give him 20,000 Rupees.

9th January.—Jowaher Sing, Son of Dooneeah Sing, Zemindar of Burouree in Perg^h Doondeeah Kheru, committed a Dacoitee in the Village, plundered the Inhabitants, and killed One Man.

10th January.—In an Attempt to seize Sheo Sing, Zemindar of Oobureea, in the Palee District, one of the Zemindar's Relations was wounded, but the Zemindar escaped.

In Rajah Durshun Sing's Elaka, Wulee Khan, &c., killed Ameer Khan, and wounded Bukht Khan, at Bisomlee.

Bhaja Lall, Tuhseeldar of Manukpore, sent People to apprehend Gunga Sing, Dacoit; an Affray took place between the Two Parties, in which the Toomundar was wounded, and the Dacoit and another Man were killed.

Sunchur, &c., Zemindars of Rara, killed Bhaja Dunmeer and Pirthee, Zemindars of Jutpore, in Welayut Allee Khan's Elaka. The Tuhseeldar's People brought away from Rara Eighty of the Villagers, Prisoners, the Murderers having escaped.

Lucknow Residency,
21st January 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

LETTER from J. Low Esq. to G. SWINTON Esq., dated 22d January 1833.

Sir,

ADVERTING to the Intelligence of passing Events at this Court, which I addressed to you Yesterday, I think it right to report an additional and rather a remarkable Occurrence, which I then omitted.

2. In the early Part of this Month, when the King was much vexed at the Diminution of Revenue which has existed of late, and from which he has suffered some petty Inconveniences as to his personal Expences, he suddenly resolved one Day to offer the Office of Prime Minister to his Uncle the Nawaub Nuseer oo Dowlah, and he accordingly paid a Visit to that Nobleman, and offered him the Situation. But the Nawaub respectfully declined the Offer, alleging as his Excuse, the Weakness of his Eyesight, which would, he said, prevent his being able to perform the Duty with Efficiency.

3. It is said that Nuseer oo Dowlah at the same Time stated to his Majesty, that although the late Minister Moontuzum oo Dowlah was a Favourite of his personally, yet that in his (Nuseer oo Dowlah's) sincere Opinion, his Majesty would never find any Man who would perform the Duties of Prime Minister to this State better than the late Minister had done, and would do again if the King chose to appoint him.

4. I cannot vouch for the Truth of the Report mentioned in the preceding Paragraph; but I know it to be a Fact, that the King offered the Appointment of Prime Minister to the Nawab Nuseer oo Dowlah.

Lucknow Residency,
22d January 1833.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 26th March 1833.

LETTER from J. Low Esquire to the Officiating Secretary to Government,
12th March 1833. (Received 10th March 1834.)

Sir,

A FEW Days after I addressed you on the 4th Ultimo I ascertained that an Expedition was preparing, on the Part of the Aumil of Bywarah, for the *ostensible* Purpose of seizing absconded Zemindars, similar to that of the Aumil of Salone, as described in the 10th Paragraph of my Dispatch of the 21st of January last; though more probably the chief and real Object of the Aumil was Plunder. About the same Time a Man named Hossein Beg, a favourite Darogha of the Koodseeah Begum, had recommenced the most oppressive System of forcing a Number of the Inhabitants of this City to quit their Houses, some at Prices fixed by him, and others without fixing Prices at all; and conceiving it to be my Duty to prevent such Evils, when I can do so by earnest Advice, I waited upon the King, and in the Presence of his Majesty I questioned the Minister in the first instance as to the Intention of the Durbar in sanctioning the Collection of the Troops in Bywara.

2. My Object in putting this Question was to ascertain whether the Collection of the Troops was alleged by the Government to be for the Purpose of enforcing the Payment of Revenue, because if that had been asserted by the King or his Minister, I should not have thought it right to object to the Movement, however much I might have doubted the Necessity or the Expediency of it, but the Durbar might have afterwards accused me of interfering to prevent the Realization of the King's Revenue.

3. The Minister, however, having at once admitted that the proposed Movement was for the Purpose of apprehending and punishing Zemindars who had absconded from other Parts of the District, I explained at great Length the Folly of moving large Bodies of Troops for such Purposes, and pointed out the almost certain evil Effects of Measures of that Nature in Two Ways; first, that by moving Infantry and Guns for such Purposes, the absconded Zemindars must hear of the Movement before the Troops could reach their Destination, and that consequently the Zemindars would escape as they did in Lalone; and next, that the Troops on being sent on such Expeditions would assuredly plunder Hundreds of innocent People, even although the Durbar might not have any such Intention: and I earnestly recommended that Endeavours should be made, by confidential and trusty Messengers, to bring the Zemindars to Terms, while I at the same Time pointed out, in as forcible Language as I could, the Certainty, that if Anarchy should continue in Oude, the British Government would take effectual Measures for correcting the Evil, and that such Interference on the Part of the paramount State could not fail to hurt his Majesty's Feelings, and to induce Repentance of his Negligence when it would probably be too late for his own Happiness.

4. Much more Conversation passed, the Details of which I cannot recollect, but it was for the Purpose on my Part of convincing the King and his Ministers that I am a real Friend to the State, and am willing to co-operate cordially with any of the King's Officers who will do their Duty with Efficiency. My Conversation on the Occasion alluded to, and probably still more the Fact of my having treated with Civility, and conducted Public Duties in an amicable Manner with the Person (named Moulvee Gholam Zoen) whom the King has appointed as the Successor of Tajoodeen Hoossein Khan, seem to have made a favourable Impression, for the Time at least, on the Minds of the King and the Minister, for immediately after that Date they abandoned the Intention of the Military Expedition in Bywarrah, and also checked the Rapacity of the Koodseeah Begum's Darogha in the City. The Minister changed the Plan towards the Zemindars in Byswarrah, and he has now succeeded in bringing them to Terms in that District, through amicable Means.

5. In consequence of the Measures of this Government above referred to, there is certainly some Amendment in the general State of the Country from what it was some Months since; because at that Time extensive Warfare was raging both in the Lalone and Byswarra Districts, and there was no Revenue coming in from either; whereas there is no open Warfare going forward now

No. 89. on the Part of the Government in either of those Districts, and consider.
(continued.) Portions of the Revenue have latterly been received from both ; and it is fair that I should also state, that I have heard less lately than I did some Time since of Tyranny in the Purtabguch District.

6. There is, however, another Insurrection on a smaller Scale, now, in the Sandee District, opposite to Futtygurh. One of the chief Zemindars in that Part of the Country, named Runjeet Sing, has refused to pay the Demands of the Aumil, and the latter has consequently marched a Force against him. The Aumil in question, Welaye Allee Khan, is one of the lately-appointed Officers ; and his Character for Tyranny, when employed in the last Reign as an Aumil, was so notorious, that it is very probable that he may now also be more in fault than the Zemindar who is opposing him ; but I have no Means of ascertaining that Point ; and as the Minister asserts that the Troops under him have assembled only for the Purpose of collecting just Demands, I did not think it would be right to hold similar Language either to the King or the Minister respecting the Operations in Sandee to that which I held in the Byswarrah Case, when the declared Object of the Durbar was only to punish a few Individuals, and not to collect Revenue that was due. In the Sandee Case I have merely expressed my Hope, in general Terms, that this Government would endeavour, by every Means in their Power, to restore Tranquillity in the District ; and I also forwarded to the King a Translation of a Letter from the Magistrate at Futtyghur, requesting that the Troops under Welayet Allee Khan should not on any Account cross the Frontier of Oude, and enter into the British Territories in pursuit of the Zemindar or his Followers, the Aumil's Troops having already approached close to the Borders of the British Territories in pursuit of some Fugitives.

7. I have already given my Opinion, that, upon the whole, the State of this Country, generally speaking, is not quite so disorderly as it was Three Months ago. I wish I could say that the Amelioration I have alluded to proceeded from any thing like a permanent good Cause, such as an anxious Desire for good Government for its own sake ; but I am compelled to say that I have Reason to think that it is chiefly to be attributed to the Fear (on the Part of some of the King's most influential Advisers) that the British Government might, without further Delay, have adopted some strong Measures, to the Injury of the Dignity of this Court, if the Anarchy and Disorders of the Byswarrah, and Lalone, and Purtaubgurh Districts, had continued any longer to the Extent that prevailed for several Months after September last.

8. I think the Minister himself would wish to avoid extreme Oppression ; and he is certainly anxious to please the British Government by prompt Attention to my Requisitions in all petty Matters which do not interfere with his own Gains. Such, for instance, as the Apprehension of Culprits at the Request (through the Resident) of the surrounding British Functionaries ; but Rowshun ood Dowlah is watched and guided by several Men of peculiarly bad Character, and he has himself confessed to me several Times, that he knows them to be rapacious and tyrannical, but that he has not the Means of displacing them at present. In making this Confession he always declares his confident Belief, that in a short Time hence he will be able to gain more complete Power, and that it is his firm Determination to have those Men dismissed from his Majesty's Councils. I fear that they have a strong Hold upon him owing to some corrupt Transactions between him and them and some of the Begums, connected with his own original Nomination to Office, and that consequently, although vexed at being ruled by them, he is afraid to propose their Dismissal.

9. But although the Minister is not guilty of direct Acts of Tyranny, yet he is certainly indirectly causes Oppression, by receiving numerous Bribes ; though, in that respect too, he is not, I believe, so very avaricious as some of the others, who now have more Influence over the Measures of the Durbar than he has. I may add, that the Minister Rounshun ood Dowlah is not disliked by the Mass of the Inhabitants of the City of Lucknow, for he is good-natured, and has not hitherto, that I have heard of, been guilty of any Acts of Cruelty personally, but he is incurring heavy Debts among the Merchants for Shawls, Jewels, &c., which is beginning to give rise to many Murmurs from that Class of People ; and all Classes, as far as I can learn their Opinions, concur in thinking him deficient in Ability for his present Office. It is indeed quite

evident

at that he possesses no Firmness of Character, and that he has not nearly so much Influence over the King as either Soobhaun Ally Khanni, or Rajah Meiraram, or Rajah Durshan Sing. I rather think that this Want of Weight of Character on the Part of the Minister is one of the principal Reasons why the King is partial to him, and continues him as Minister in preference to any of those other Individuals by whose more secret Councils his Majesty is chiefly guided. Such is the strange Composition of the King's Character. Hitherto he has been (generally speaking) ruled entirely and openly by his Minister for the Time being, and now (at least so it appears to me) his weak Mind is flattered and pleased at the Novelty of finding in this Instance a Minister who is afraid of him.

No. 89.

(continued.)

10. The Character of the King is too well known to the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to require any minute Description of it now; but I have thought it my Duty to give as correct a Picture as I can of the Minister's, although I regret to find that in doing so I have occupied more of his Lordship's Time than I could have wished. I shall now proceed to other Matters.

11. I have already stated that there is not the same Extent of open Warfare going forward in the Country as there was some Months since, but I do not think that petty Crimes have been much decreased, of which some Judgment may be formed by the Perusal of the enclosed separate Paper. It cannot but be inferred that much Disorder still prevails, when it is recollected that in the enclosed Paper I have only noticed those Facts which have reached me from many different Quarters, and which I fully believe to be correct; while there can be no Doubt that in an extensive Country like Oude a Number of Crimes must often be committed of which the Resident never hears at all.

12. There is, indeed, evidently a sad Want of Respect for the present Administration in the Minds of the Mass of the People; and that of itself will cause both Public Crimes against the Peace, and a great Diminution in the Revenue: and on the latter Subject I think it may be interesting to Government to present for its Information the following Statement; viz.

Comparative Statement showing the Difference in the Collection of Revenue, as stated in the King's Public Akbars, from August 1831 to February 1832, and from August 1832 to February 1833.

October 1831	-	-	-	6.79.500	
November —	-	-	-	8.84.500	
December —	-	-	-	6.46.000	
January 1832	-	-	-	9.58.000	
February —	-	-	-	8.68.000	
					40.36.000
October 1832	-	-	-	2.56.000	
November —	-	-	-	2.34.000	
December —	-	-	-	3.83.000	
January 1833	-	-	-	5.27.000	
February —	-	-	-	4.24.000	
					18.24.000
Difference between Five Months Revenue under the present Administration, and the same Five Months of the preceding Years, under that of Moontezimood-ood-dowlah					22.12.000

13. The above Statement speaks for itself, and does not require any Comment. I need only add, that during the Five Months above referred to about Thirty Lacs of Rupees have been expended from the old Hoards of Sadut Allee Khan, and Fourteen Lacs of the ready Money that was left in the Current Treasury by the Newab Moontezimood-ood-dowlah when he was removed from Office on the 4th of August last; and that nevertheless the Army and other Public Establishments are more in Arrears than they ever were (according to the best of my Information) at any Time during the last Three Years. The Difference, however, in that respect is not great, that is to say, the Army are only a Trifle more in Arrears than they occasionally were, even in the Time of the late Minister.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

Lucknow Residency.

No. 89.
(continued.)

ABSTRACT of a DISPATCH from the Resident at Lucknow to the Official
Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 12th March 1833.

STATES that in consequence of a Military Expedition being under Preparation in Byswarra, and the Excesses of Kooda Begum's Darogha, the Resident had an Audience of his Majesty, and made Inquiries as to the Expedition in question, for Reasons given; and that the Seizure of refractory Zemindars being admitted by the Minister to be the Object in view, the Resident advised his Majesty to conciliate the Zemindars, and showed the Evils that would result from coercive Measures. Reports that this Advice, combined with the Civility shown to Tajoodeen's Successor, induced the King to abandon the Intention of the Military Expedition, and also to check the Rapacity of Koodseeah Begum's Darogha. Notices the consequent comparative Amendment in the general State of the Country. Alludes to the present Insurrections in Sundee, and to the Character of its Aumil, Welayet Allee Khan, to the Resident's Advice, and to the Remonstrance of the Magistrate of Furruckabad on the Subject. Notices the Cause of the present better State of the Country than it was some Time ago. Describes the Character of the Minister, and the Reason of the King's Partiality towards him. Encloses a Paper of Occurrences in the Country. Notices the Want of Respect in the People for the present Administration. Annexes a comparative Statement of Collections made in the last Five Months, and in the same Five Months of 1831-32; and alludes to the Expenditure during the last Five Months. Excess of the Revenue collected.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

INTELLIGENCE of Occurrences in the Country from the 12th January to the
28th February 1833.

12th January.—Peer Buksh and Ramrohoy, the absconded Zemindars of Oomunpore in Sidorin, went with an armed Party, seized and carried off as a Prisoner Muckaloll, Zillahdar of Indore, and plundered the Government Collections in Mucka's Hands.

Surfuraz Allee, Tuhseeldar of Murawan, attacked the Village of Muvagaore, apprehended Runjeet, the Zemindar of Akburee, and plundered the Property of Heera Loll, in whose House he lived.

15th January.—In Belgram, Sunsoolla, Thanadar, apprehended Luck, Zemindar of Aterjuth, on a Charge of Robbery. The Thanadar was taking him to Mr. Orr when Luck's Friends came to his Rescue. Although the Thanadar had People with him, yet he did not oppose the Rescuers, but murdered Luck.

Ragseer, Mookuddum of Moosullumpore in Nauparah, killed Maddee Sing, the Karindah of the Zemindar of Keera, and plundered him of his Property. The local Officers took no Notice of the Murder.

16th January.—A Dacoity was committed in the House of Dal Sing, Zemindar of Peerungen in Suffeepore, and Two Men were murdered.

In Purtabgurh, Oormas Shroff and Sheobuksh Punsau were wounded by Robbers, and robbed of Forty Rupees and other Property.

22d January.—Jugguunath Sing, Zemindar of Dungurh, in Dhowkul Sing's Elaka, committed a Dacoity in the Poora attached to the Village, plundered the Inhabitants, and carried off 300 Cattle.

Bey Lall, Gomashta of Khoorblal Beoharee, was bringing Grain in Two Boats from Peeleebheet, when some Robbers plundered the Boatmen, and wounded one of them with a Sword.

23d January.—Buhadoor Allee, the absconded Zemindar of Moortafulad in Hydergurh, committed a Dacoity in the House of Dewan, a Brahmin, and killed his Brother.

Matadeen committed a Dacoity in Lalwapore in Roodowlee, and plundered several of the Inhabitants.

Matadeen, the absconded Zemindar of Lalloopore in Rodowlee, committed a Dacoity in the House of Muka, and set fire to Two Houses.

A Complaint was made to Dhowkul Sing, the Nazim, that the Sepoys sent with Raja Sheodeen were oppressing the Ryots and plundering them. The Nazim said that they were not under his Authority.

25th January.—A Dacoity was committed in Bhurooa in Bulrampore, and Two Men were wounded.

Baktamur Khan and Talaymund Khan, the absconded Talookdars of Salabutgurb, committed a Dacoity in the House of Sheodeen, Brahmin, Inhabitant of Suryan in Jugdeerpore; killed him, plundered his Property, and carried off Ten of his Brothers. They further set fire to his House.

27th January.—Feda Hoosain, Naib of Welayet Allee Khan, sent Troops with Four Guns to attack the Village of Koneeah in Bangumore. An Engagement took place between them and the Zemindars, in which Two of the Aumil's People were wounded. The Village was at last stormed, set fire to, and plundered.

Abdoolah, Tuhseeldar of Ourungabad, and Ahmud Allee, Tuhseeldar of Nursur Khur, went with about Twenty-five Sepoys to seize Zubur Sing, Zemindar of Kukru Kuthee. The Zemindar and his Adherents seized the Tuhseeldar, inflicted a Wound upon him, and confined him in his Fort. When the Tuhseeldar of Misserkher sent for a Reinforcement, Zubur Sing released the Tuhseeldar of Ourungabad.

Jonaber Sing, the absconded Zemindar of Kuroruree, committed a Dacoity in Ramnuggur Doondia Kheera, and killed a Rajpoot, and plundered several of the Ryots. Three of the Dacoits were subsequently captured by the Tuhseeldar.

✓About 100 Shegal Khores are ravaging the Neighbourhood of Mohun, through the Connivance of Omrao Sing, the Talooka of that Place, who has given them Shelter in his Elaka in consequence of their sharing their Booty with him.

28th January.—In Koondum Loll's Elaka, Thieves stole the Property of Thakoor and Dyarm, Bankers. They complained of this to Kishen Koomar, Tuhseeldar, who told them to complain wherever they pleased.

In Ata Hoosain Khan's Elaka of Rusoolabad, Six Men and Two Women were severely beat by Plunderers, and robbed of their Property, at Runutpore.

An Engagement took place between the Troops of the Tuhseeldar of Denabad and the Zemindar of Kedampore, who was in his Gurhee, which was evacuated after One Day's fighting. Two of the Tuhseeldar's Men were wounded.

An Engagement took place between the Troops of the Aumil of Bangumore and the Zemindars of Kumorma, in which Two of the Aumil's People were wounded. The Aumil seized Twenty-one of the Zemindar's Followers.

29th January.—Juggurnauth, the absconded Talookdar of Dhurgurb, committed a Dacoity at Baloogung in Pertaubgurb, and carried off Eight Villagers and Thirty-one Cows, &c.

30th January.—About 400 Nujeebs of Atta Khan's Battalion encamped at Belgaum, and forcibly took Grain and other Property, &c., from the Ryots. On their remonstrating against such Excesses, the Nujeebs beat them, and no Notice was taken.

Abdoola, the Farmer of Shahabad, desired Arnagheen Sing to execute a Kubooleut at an Excess of 100 Rupees. The Zemindar refused to do so, at which the Farmer forced him to stand on hot Bricks, and thus compelled him to write a Kubooleut for an increased Jumma of 50 Rupees.

Zalum Sing, Brother of Gornan Singh (a Zemindar in Confinement), set fire to the Village of Ooj-healee.

The Tuhseeldar of Mulleeabad made an Attempt to seize Rumul Sing, when a Fight took place, and Rambuksh, the Partner of Rursul Sing, was beheaded.

Runmurt Sing committed a Dacoity in Gurh Arnethee, and wounded Kurum Ushruf, the Nazim of the Place.

An Engagement took place between the Troops of the Tuhseeldar of Oorbuhabad and the Zemindars of Kernig enli Koobea, in which Two of the latter's Followers were wounded.

1st of February.—Juggurnath, Zemindar of Dhurgurb, committed a Dacoity in Needgawun in Dhowkul Sing's Elaka, and plundered a Number of the Inhabitants.

Jucha Sing having been sent by Hossain Ally Beg, Nazim of Sundeela, with Troops, to have the Gurhee of Surwa evacuated, and to have Kuleean established in his Village, the Zemindar refused to comply with these Orders. Jucha Sing has therefore invested the Gurhee, and commenced Operations against it. No Casualties have yet occurred.

No. 89. Mungnee preferred a Complaint against Hurbuns Roy to the Tuhseeldar or Besouree for murdering her Son. The Talookdar took no Notice of the Complaint.

2d February.—An Engagement took place between Hussain Allee, Aumil of Sundeea, and the Zemindars of Surwa, in which Two of the Aumil's People were killed and Three Men wounded. The Gurhee was evacuated at Night, and was taken possession of in the Morning by the Aumil's Troops.

An Engagement took place between Hussain Allee, Aumil of Scindala, and the Zemindar of that Place, in which Two of the Aumil's Men were killed and Four wounded. The Zemindar evacuated the Gurhee at Night.

Hoossain Beg sent People to seize Tajooddeen Hoosain Khan's Brother, who was the Aumil of Khoodseeah Begum's Jageer. On hearing of this he fled to Cawnpore.

3d February.—Deen Sing, Zemindar, has sent a public Complaint to the Durbar that Dhurkul Sing had plundered him of Thousands of Rupees when his Village was surrounded for the Seizure of Rambukele. No Notice has been taken of the Complaint.

4th February.—Soomur Sing, Son of Madho Sing, the refractory Zemindar of Mullooun in Wallazet Allee Khan's Elaka, having heard that Troops are coming from Lucknow, sent his Family to some Place of Safety, and is prepared, in his Gurhee of Roopa, to face the Aumil.

Jugnath, Brother of the Zemindar of Dheengurh, &c., residing in the Elaka of Purtaubgurh, committed a Dacoity at Ahmedgury, and carried off about 200 Cattle. Rajah Durshun Sing took no Steps to bring him to Punishment.

Iramee and Gholamee, Banyans, charged Moosummul Nakeeram of having killed the Son of Lall Bau by Magic, and beat her to Death.

5th February.—The Sepoys with Koondunloll have forcibly taken from the Ryots in the Pergunnah of Nugahan a Number of the Doors and Rafters belonging to their Houses for Firewood. The Aumil pays no Attention to the Complaint of the Sufferers.

Fida Hoossain, Deputy of Welayet Allee Khan, went with 400 Sepoys and Three Guns to Ibrorkunpore, for the Seizure of Punchum Sing. A Thanna was established in his House, Five Men were brought away Prisoners from thence, and the Village Cattle were plundered. A Number of the Villagers emigrated.

Doorga Pershaud, Tuseeldar of Baree in Jaum Beg's Elaka, made an Attack, with Troops and Guns, on the Villages of Rumpore and Kokaree, and plundered the former; Two or Three of the Tuhseeldar's Sepoys and an Inhabitant of the Village were wounded.

An Affray took place between the Zemindars of Chokepore, in which Six Men were wounded.

Sheodeen, a Canoongo, having told Rupeer Romar, Tuhseeldar of Mohana, that the Parsees living at Kishenpore had assembled themselves for the Purpose of raising a Disturbance, the Tuhseeldar sent Sepoys to apprehend them. They did not find any Parsees in the Village, but plundered a Number of the Inhabitants.

7th February.—Ameer Allee, the absconded Tufree Kear of Seelha in Jugdeerpore, committed a Dacoity at Backergung with 500 armed Followers, and plundered the Inhabitants.

In an Affray between the Zumeendars of Choclepore in Scindee, Six Men were wounded.

Ahmud Allee, Brother of Hoossein Beg, Darogha of Koodseeah Begum, sent for Enait Allee, and desired him to sell his House. On his Refusal to do so, Ahmud Allee confined him for Two Days, and had a Razeenamah and Deed of Sale written by him forcibly for 125 Rupees. Ahmud Allee and Hoossein Alley also desired Bundurloll, Sumbhodur, and Heeraloll, Inhabitants of Raneer Kutra in Lucknow, to sell their Houses to them, otherwise they would take them forcibly. These People have been confined for Three Days, and it appears that Hoossein Beg is determined to take their Houses.

In consequence of the Tyranny of Koshen Narain, Thanadar of Saudee, a Number of the Ryots are emigrating to other Places.

In Manourra, Kissen Koomar, the Tuhseeldar, confined the Zemindar of the Village, which induced some of the Ryots to leave their Houses. The Tuhseeldar ordered his Sepoys to seize them, and they were forced to resettle in the Village.

8th February.—Hoossein Beg, Koodseeah Begum's Darogha, sent for the Wife of Mionun Beg, and forcibly took her House for 400 Rupees, which was valued even by Masons at Double that Amount. He further exacted a Razeenamah from her. No. 89. (continued.)

Sheo Buksh, Shroff, who was carrying some Money to Nuwab Jung and Medneegunge in Pertaubgurh, was wounded by Dacoits, and plundered of his Bag of Money.

9th February.—Rugnath Sing, Talookdar of Dhungurh, committed a Dacoity in the Village of Mullawan, plundered the Ryots, and carried off Five of them Prisoners.

10th February.—Oulad Hoossein, the absconded Zemindar of Sobelpore in Sudhour, and Kooryun Sing, Talookdar of Neolee, committed a Dacoity in the Village of Kooncree in the House of Jaffeer Allee, wounded him, seized his Son, and plundered his Property.

Kalka Purshod, Vakeel of Beoparee, complained to Sohun Loll that an extra Duty of Sixty-four Rupees had been levied on Four Boats coming by the River Ganges, by Boo Allee, Jemadar of Belgaum. The former took no Notice of the Complaint.

11th February.—Oulad Hoossain, Zemindar of Zedepore, committed a Dacoity in the House of Jaffer Ally, and wounded him. Oulad Hossein has taken Refuge in his Gurhee at Sohul, where he has 700 armed Men with him.

12th February.—Shere Allee, the Kamdah of the Talookdar of Nauparah, is collecting Followers for the View of opposing the Nazim Jam Beg.

In consequence of the Extortion of Runjeet Sing, Talookdar of Bheduria, with the Connivance of the Tuhseeldar, Two of the under Renters poisoned themselves.

Hurmungat Sing, the absconded Talookdar of Jeeahpore, committed a Dacoity at Jugunpore.

10th February.—300 Dacoits surrounded the Gurhee of Shah Mow in Borneang Sing's Elaka, and 100 Dacoits proceeded to Dhoendunpore in the Talooka of Shunka Sing, and set fire to it, and commenced discharging their Matchlocks. The Tuhseeldar, who was in the Gurhee, having taken the Alarm, ordered the Artillery to work, which made the Dacoits retreat.

13th February.—Fida Hoossein, Naib of Walayet Allee Khan, went to the Village of Phoolhut, with Troops, for the Seizure of some Dacoits. As the latter were not found in the Village, they brought away Thirty-seven Men and Women from the Place.

14th February.—Jaffer Hoossain, the absconded Zemindar, committed a Dacoity at Balobee in Dunabad, and plundered the Property of the Ryots.

Puhulwun Sing, the absconded Zemindar of Bundowlee, committed a Dacoity in the House of Rangholam, Inhabitant of Khutgurh, killed his Brother, wounded another Man, and plundered all his Property.

✓15th February.—Sir Jeremiah Dickson and Two other Gentlemen encamped at Raepore were robbed of some Property by Thieves at Night.

Eshree Sing, Koomedan, made an Attack on Purganpore in Sye Oo Dowlah's Elaka. An Engagement took place between the Troops with Eshree Sing and the Zemindars, in which Six Men were murdered. The Nazim sent a Reinforcement to support the Koomedan.

16th February.—In Gopamou, in a private Affray between Four Men of the King's Troops, Two were wounded. The whole of the Troops mutinied, surrounded the Tuhseeldar, and took Two Months Pay from him.

18th February.—Booneand Sing committed a Dacoity at Rae, and plundered the Ryots.

Agha Jaun, Comedan, having gone to the Village of Sawanehpore in Saudee for the Seizure of Boonecund Sing, and not finding him there, plundered the Property of Two of the Zemindars who attempted to escape.

19th February.—At Khyrabad, Two Camels belonging to Colonel Churchill were stolen.

In Ramnuggur Dhameree, Khoorj Beharee Munnoo, &c. were wounded, and plundered of their Property, by Parsees.

When Welayet Allee Khan's Troops attacked the Village of Sumurpore in Saudee, and attempted to disgrace some of the Inhabitants, Three Women set fire to their Houses and perished in the Flames.

No. 89. 20th February.—Aman Sing, Zemindar of Dhomaha in Dhoondea Khera, committed a Dacoity in Roujhee.

— A Dacoity was committed in the House of Perchooa at Muleekabad.

In the Fair of Boodhesur in Ramnuggur Dhumeree, Two Shroffs were wounded by Decoits.

21st February.—Newaz Sing killed a Kulumer named Manglee, in Jaun Beg's Elaka.

In Bangurmou a Dacoity was committed in the House of Sookha, in which his Brother was wounded.

In Saudee, Eshree Sing, the Talookdar of that Pergunnah, killed Punchum Sing, Rajpoot.

Rummunt Sing, the absconded Talookdar of Bhorunkpore in Gurh Arnethee, committed a Dacoity in Hydergurh, set fire to a Hamlet, and carried off some of the Inhabitants.

23d February.—Booneeand Sing, the Zemindar of Shahnon, with the Connivance of other Zemindars, committed a Dacoity in Jars, and set fire to it. An Engagement took place between the Inhabitants and the Decoits, in which Two Zemindars were wounded, and one of the Boneand Followers was killed.

In Mulleeabad, a Dacoity was committed in Pooma's House, and his Brother wounded.

24th February.—Bukhtown Khan and Tullymund Khan, the absconded Zemindars of Salabutgunge, committed a Dacoity in Poorah Jucharam, plundered the Villagers, and carried off Two of them.

A Dacoity was committed by Abharum Sing in Echmolee, attached to Benabad, and several of the Inhabitants were plundered.

26th February.—Hulbeet Sing and Rugnath, the absconded Zemindars of Byswara, committed a Dacoity in Mahouna, and carried off Mohumloll, a Mahajun.

28th February.—Walayet Allee Khan has sent Troops against Runjeet Sing, Zemindar of Khurmra in Kuteearee. They have invested the Gurhee, and Operations are going on.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
12th March 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

N. B.—I have not included in the above Statement a Variety of Reports of additional Crimes that have reached me, because I have heard these from suspicious Channels of Information; such, for instance, as the numerous British Sepoys on Leave from their Regiments. These Men are almost all irritated against the local Officers of the Oude Government, and I do not therefore consider their Assertions respecting Disorders in the Country as entitled to Credit, unless when well corroborated by other Testimony.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 90.

No. 90.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 3d April 1833.

LETTER from J. Low Esq. to the Officiating Chief Secretary to Government, dated 16th March 1833. (Received 6th May 1834.)

Sir,

I THINK it right to report a Message that I received from the King about a Fortnight since, through his Minister, respecting the intended Release of Nuwab Moontuzim oo Dowlah; and the several Conversations which I have since held with the King and Minister connected with it.

2. The Minister said, that the Durbar and Moontuzim oo Dowlah could not come to a Settlement of the Accounts between them; that the King claimed a Balance of about Eight and a Half Lacs of Rupees from the Nuwab; while the latter, though he admitted having received the Money in question from the King, declared that he had expended it as desired by his Majesty at the Time (1831), which the Durbar said was not true; and it was further stated by Roshun oo Dowlah, that the late Minister pretended to assert "that nearly
" Fourteen

“ Fourteen Lacs of Rupees were due from his Majesty on account of Shawls and Jewels, &c., purchased from his own Funds and delivered to the King, but not yet paid for by his Majesty : ” that is to say, such is the late Minister’s Assertion.

3. Roshun ood Dowlah went on to say, that the King, being unwilling to use harsh Measures, had Two Propositions to make for my Consideration. One, that Moontuzim ood Dowlah should at once pay the Eight Lacs and a Half of Rupees that are claimed by the Durbar, on which Condition he should be allowed to proceed unmolested to Futteh Gurh with all his Family and Dependents : and the other Proposal was, that if the late Minister should object to paying the Sum above mentioned, he should still be allowed to go away on condition of leaving a Vakeel behind him, who should be responsible for paying to the Durbar whatever Sum might ultimately be found due to his Government, after a full Examination of the Accounts on both Sides by the Resident ; the King also binding himself to pay into the Residency Treasury whatever Sum might be found due to Moontuzim ood Dowlah, in the Event of the Balance proving to be in his Favour.

4. In reply to this Message I told the Minister in the most decided Terms that I would have nothing to do with the Examination of Accounts on either Side.

5. Roshun ood Dowlah expressed extreme Surprise at my refusing (as he said) to assist an old Man to whom I had been very partial, by undertaking the Office of Arbitrator ; adding, that he was convinced if the late Minister persisted as he did now in refusing to pay the Eight Lacs and a Half of Rupees, the King would not allow him to depart from Lucknow unless I would undertake to examine and settle the Accounts. I replied that if the King had been willing to reinstate Moontuzim ood Dowlah as Prime Minister, I should have been glad of it for the King’s sake, and for the sake of the Country ; but that since his Majesty did not intend to reinstate him, it was quite indifferent to me whether he should leave Lucknow forthwith, or remain here ’till the Day of his Death ; and that nothing would induce me to undertake the Settlement of the Accounts, which might, in fact, involve a useless and vexatious Examination of almost all the Measures of Moontuzim ood Dowlah’s Ministry for Two Years. Roshun ood Dowlah tried very hard, at least for Half an Hour, to persuade me to come into his Views, but finding me inflexible he took his Leave, and returned to the Palace.

6. Before proceeding further I deem it proper to mention what I believe to be the real Cause of this Anxiety on the Part of the Minister to release Moontuzim ood Dowlah : it is neither more nor less than a serious Alarm, that if not speedily sent out of Oude the King may reinstate him in the Office of Prime Minister.

7. It has been currently reported in this City, for several Weeks past, that various Messages have passed and repassed between Moontuzim ood Dowlah and the Padshah Begum ; and Roshun ood Dowlah himself, in the long Conversation above referred to, mentioned to me that some Communication had been made to the late Minister by the Servant Woman of the Zenanah ; although in stating this he took pains to declare his positive Knowledge (as he said) that these Communications were not authorized by the Padshah Begum, and that they originated solely with the Female Servants themselves, who were desirous of obtaining Money from Moontuzim ood Dowlah for their alleged good Offices in endeavouring to procure his Restoration to the King’s Favour.

8. Whether the Minister’s Version of this Story, or the more common Report (viz. that the Padshah Begum herself has been negotiating with Moontuzim ood Dowlah for his Return to Office), be the true State of the Case, it is not for me to say ; but it was quite clear to me that Roshun ood Dowlah was considerably alarmed ; and hence I account for his Wish to send the late Minister out of Oude without further Delay ; for even supposing that such Intrigues commenced with Servants only, the Influence that such Servants have often had in effecting Changes at this Durbar is too well known to enable the present Minister to view such Communications with Indifference.

9. About a Week afterwards Roshun ood Dowlah again waited upon me. He said that the Two Proposals mentioned in the Third Para. of this Letter had been made direct to Moontuzim ood Dowlah, who still refused to pay the

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(continued.)

Eight Lacs and a Half of Rupees, or even to compromise the Matter by paying a smaller Sum, but that he had professed his entire Readiness to leave a Vakeel, and to bind himself to pay whatever Sum might be awarded by me after an Examination of the Accounts; that the King was equally willing to abide by my Award, even if I should decree the Balance to be in favour of Moontuzim ood Dowlah; and that his Majesty therefore trusted that I would no longer object to undertake the Office of Arbitrator. I replied, that my Objections were the same as before. And after some further fruitless Attempts to persuade me to act contrary to my own Judgment, he returned to the Palace.

10. On the same Day the Minister called upon me again with a Message, to say, that, in consideration of the Age and Infirmities of Moontuzim oo Dowlah, the King had determined to let him depart without any further Examination of his Majesty's Claims against him; and that his Majesty invited me and all the European Society to breakfast with him any Morning that I might fix within the following Three or Four Days.

11. I was provoked at these continued Attempts to induce me to act contrary to the Rules which I have laid down for my Guidance as long as the present Misgovernment in Oude shall continue; and I sent a Message to the King, to say that I wished to visit him; to which I received an Answer, that he would receive me in an Hour afterwards. I proceeded accordingly to the Palace, and had an Interview with his Majesty, at which the Minister was present. I commenced the Conversation by saying, that I had come for the Purpose of telling him distinctly, that I would not have any thing to do with Moontuzim oo Dowlah's Accounts, public or private; that it was a Matter of total Indifference to me how they might be settled; and that it was equally indifferent to me whether he were to reside at Lucknow or Furruckabad. The King replied, that he did not care about the Accounts; but that he wished to know from me whether, if Moontuzim oo Dowlah were allowed to depart in Peace and Comfort, I would come to breakfast at the Palace, and invite all the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Station? I replied distinctly, that I would not; and if his Majesty was thinking of releasing Moontuzim oo Dowlah, under an Impression that I would in consequence of that Measure revert to the former Practice of giving and receiving Dinners and Breakfasts, I requested that his Majesty would abandon entirely the Idea of releasing the late Minister.

12. I proceeded to explain at some Length to the King, that however ready I am at all Times to visit him, or to receive his Visits, whenever he wishes either, as a Respect due to his Station, yet that it would be quite improper in me, as the Representative of the Governor General, to go to the proposed Public Breakfast at present. I shall not add any more on that Point on the present Occasion, as it is my Intention to address a separate Letter to you to explain my Reasons fully for declining those public Meetings of Festivity during the prevailing State of Things in Oude; and in the meantime I proceed to relate what further passed on the particular Occasion now alluded to.

13. The King, on finding me inflexible on the Subject of the proposed Breakfast Party, said, laughing, "You are a very extraordinary Gentleman. You treat me with Kindness in most Things, and in other Things you will not oblige me at all; but I believe, after all, that you are my Friend. I have now another Question to put to you. If I allow the Hakeem to proceed in Safety, with all his Family and Baggage, to Futtehghurh, will the Governor General allow the Nine Lacs of Rupees, which I paid into your Treasury for the Hankeem's Wife, to be added to the Koodseeah Begum's Twenty-four Lacs?" I replied, that, in my Opinion, the Governor General would certainly permit it, notwithstanding his Lordship's Opinion that his Majesty's Proposal in that Respect was an illiberal one, after the first Arrangement had been formally consented to by the British Government in consequence of the King's own most urgent Request; and I referred his Majesty to Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's Letter to my Address of the 8th December last, a Translation of which is in his Majesty's Possession. The King observed that it was not the Amount of Money that he grudged; but that it would be injurious to his Dignity, and expose him to Ridicule, if a permanent Grant of

a handsome Income were made by him to the Family of a Person whom he had dismissed for Misconduct.

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(continued.)

14. I answered by saying, that I did not admit the Misconduct, but that nevertheless I could understand his Majesty's Feelings on the Occasion, and would explain them to the Right Honourable the Governor General.

15. Immediately after the Conversation above described I returned to the Residency, and in the Evening of the same Day the King sent Orders to Moontuzim oo Dowlah to quit Oude forthwith, with an additional Message, that if he should make any Delay in obeying this Order he should be made to quit by Force, and be personally insulted. I understand that the Nuwab on receiving the Order made a handsome Present to the Messenger, and, sending his respectful Acknowledgments to his Majesty, announced his Readiness to depart the Moment that a sufficient Number of Conveyances should be sent to him.

16. Since that Day a Number of Hackeries, &c. have been sent to the Nuwab, and Part of his Baggage has already left the City; and I hear that he has fixed on Thursday next, the 21st Instant, for his own Departure.

17. The Day after Moontuzim oo Dowlah received the Order to quit Lucknow, he sent to me a Persian Memorandum, soliciting that I would order a Guard of British Sepoys to accompany his Baggage, and a few Chuprassies to attend himself, and on the Journey. I did not give any Answer in Writing, but I sent for a Relation of his, Mirza Hyde, (who is one of our guaranteed Subjects,) and explained to him the Reasons why I could not comply with the Nuwab's Request; but I assured him at the same Time of my personal good Wishes for the Nuwab's Safety, and of my own Conviction that the King would not permit his Enemies to molest him on his Journey to Futtehghurh.

18. Reports are still current in the City, that there is a Party in the Palace endeavouring to procure Moontuzim oo Dowlah's Restoration to Office, and Mirza Hyder told me this Morning that the Nuwab has still some Hopes of being restored. It is impossible to anticipate, with any Degree of Certainty, the Events of the next few Days at a Place like this, with a Ruler so childish, and a Palace so full of Intrigues; and all that I shall therefore say on the present Occasion is, that there seems to me every Reason to believe that the Nuwab's Hopes are without any good Foundation.

I have, &c.

Lucknow Residency,
16th March 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

ABSTRACT of a LETTER from the Resident at Lucknow to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 16th March 1833.

REPORTS a Message from the King of Oude, requesting the Resident to settle Accounts between his Majesty and Moontuzim oo Dowlah, to whom Two Options are held out, that is, either to pay 8½ Lacs of Rupees to the King, and be allowed to depart without further Examination of his Accounts, or to leave a Vakeel to settle Accounts after his Departure from Oude. The Resident refuses to become the Arbitrator, for Reasons mentioned to the Minister, whose Anxiety for Moontuzim oo Dowlah's immediately quitting Lucknow is alluded to and explained. States that a Communication is said to have taken place between the Padshah Begum and Moontuzim oo Dowlah respecting his Restoration to the Office of Minister, and that the King has latterly determined to let Moontuzim oo Dowlah depart from Lucknow, without rendering any further Accounts, and requested the Resident to breakfast with his Majesty in a few Days, with all the European Society. This Request induced the Resident to request an Audience of the King, at which he informed his Majesty, that he would neither interfere in the Settlement of his late Minister's Accounts, nor breakfast with his Majesty, for Reasons explained to him. Alludes to an Observation of the King on that Occasion, and states that the King asked whether after his allowing Moontuzim oo Dowlah to go away with his Family, &c. the Governor General would allow the Nine Lacs of Rupees, formerly paid into the Treasury for the Nuwab's Wife, to be added to the Koodseeah Begum's guaranteed Money, which the Resident answers in the Affirmative, in consideration of the King's Feelings on that Subject. Reports the King's Message to Moontuzim oo Dowlah

No. 90. oo Dowlah, who agrees to quit Lucknow as soon as Conveyances are provided
(continued.) for him. In conclusion, notices the Hope still entertained by the Nuwab to be
restored to Office, but which, according to all Appearance, is without any good
Foundation.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 91.

No. 91.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 9th April 1833.

LETTER from Major Low to Mr. Acting Chief Secretary, dated 25th
March 1833.

Sir,

WITH reference to my Dispatch of the 15th Instant (original), for the
Information of Government, that the Nawab Moontezemoodowlah left this
City for Futtly Gurb on the Night of the 23d Instant; and that, as I have not
heard any thing to the contrary, I conclude that he has before now crossed the
Ganges in Safety at the Nanamuoghat.

Lucknow Residency,
25th March 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

No. 92.

No. 92.

Extract Bengal Political Consultations, 16th April 1833.

LETTER from Major Low to Mr. Acting, Chief Secretary, dated 29th
March 1833. (Received 6th May 1834.)

Sir,

I HAVE to apologize for having so long omitted to forward the Two
Letters from the King of Oude, which I have herewith the Honour to enclose,
with Translations. These Letters were both delivered to me on the 4th of this
Month by the Minister Rowshunoodowlah.

2. The Minister, in delivering them to me, said that the King wished to
take my Advice as to which of the Two it would be best to send to the
Governor General. I replied (without then reading either), that I would rather
not give Advice on a Subject of that Kind; that I was always ready to give
the best Counsel in my Power as to the Measures of this Government, if he
wished to consult me; but in regard to Letters to the Governor General, or to
me for his Lordship's Information, I felt that it would be indelicate in me to
offer any Advice; and I had only therefore to say, that I would forward either
or both of the Letters if the King wished; and I recommended him to take
them both back for the present, and to decide, in concert with the King,
which of the Two I should forward.

3. The Minister declined taking back the Letter, saying that Ten or Twelve
different Drafts had been made, and Months had passed in vexatious Con-
sultations and Disputes before these Two Letters had been agreed upon among
the King's Advisers, and that he would not on any Account have those Disputes
renewed, which would be the Case if the Letters were taken back to the
Palace; but he added, that he would ask the King which of the Two his
Majesty wished to be forwarded, and which he (the Minister) promised to
apprize me of the next Time he came to see me.

4. Rowshunoodowlah returned to me on the following Day, with a Message
from the King, to say that his Majesty would not decide the Question; that
he had sent me Two Letters, and that I was to do whatever I thought best.

5. I had by that Time read both the Letters, and I replied that I would
send them both to the Presidency; adding, however, that I must necessarily
point out to the Governor General one Part of the Letter to his Lordship as
being very preposterous, namely, that in which the King had requested that
the Resident should be "instructed to give Advice to his Majesty;" which
might seem to imply that I had refused to give Advice, an Idea which both the
King and the Minister knew perfectly well to be widely different from the real
State of the Case.

6. Rowshun-

6. Rowshunoodowlah replied, "That he was sure the King had no Intention, in so wording the Letter, of implying any Unwillingness on my Part to give Advice; but only meant to say that his Majesty was willing to follow Advice;" and the Minister ended by saying, "That the King left it entirely to me to write any thing I pleased," paying some extravagant Compliments to myself, to the Effect that his Majesty's Happiness depended at all Times upon me, and that he had entire Reliance upon my Friendship.

7. I made a short Observation to the Effect, that, however I might wish, and really do wish, that this State shall prosper, yet that the King's Happiness and Respectability must mainly depend upon his own Conduct and that of his Minister, and that, without good Government in Oude, the King must not expect a cordial Feeling of Kindness towards him on the Part of the Governor General; whereas if this Durbar would, by its Conduct, restore Confidence to the People, and make their Tranquillity and Comfort its Object and Aim, his Majesty might safely depend upon the Governor General of India as his best Friend and Protector.

8. Nothing more passed, excepting the favourite and often-repeated Observation on the Part of the Minister, that "By the Blessing of God" he would very soon bring every thing into excellent Order.

9. With respect to the Assertion in the King's Letter, that no Public Insurrection then existed in the Country, I have only to observe, that, whatever may have been the Case when the Letter was written, the Assertion was not correct at the Time that Document was delivered to me. On the contrary, there was then, and is still, a large Force engaged in the Sandee District against several Zemindars who are in open Opposition to the Government; and only Three Days ago Two additional Battalions marched from the Capital to reinforce Velayet Allee Khan, the Chukladar of that District.

Lucknow Residency,
29th March 1833.

(Signed) J. Low, Resident.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from his Majesty the King of OUDE to the Address of Major JOHN LOW, dated the 18th Ramzaun 1248 H. (Received on the 4th of March 1833.)

I HAVE had the Pleasure to receive the Letter of my Illustrious Uncle the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated the 14th of December 1832, which you delivered to the Presence.

Although the Contents of that Letter show his Lordship's sincere Regard in wishing the Prosperity of this State, nevertheless as it apparently evinces his Lordship's Displeasure, I have experienced so much withering of the Heart, that the World and all it contains give me no Pleasure, because I have no other Support but his Lordship's Kindness and Favour; consequently it becomes necessary to state briefly the Circumstances of the Case; that is, the Stories of Misgovernment to which interested People have given Publicity, and which have by Degrees reached his Lordship's Ears, are not correct, even in the Tenth or Twentieth Part. The Mode of Government observed by Princes of other States in Hindoostan from the first until now, as well as in this Country, is still continued. It is evidently impossible to make a Comparison with the good Management prevailing in the British Dominions, because there has never been, nor ever will be, such good Order any where and at any Time since the Creation of the World. Even during Hakeem Mehdee Allee Khan's Administration there have been many Occurrences attended with fighting and Loss of Lives in this Country, an Explanation of which would require Detail, but which obtained less Notoriety.

Independent of Drought and Injury done by Locusts, the Circumstance of there having been no Minister appointed for the Kingdom for more or less than Three Months, for Reasons which it is not necessary to detail, and also the Machinations of the said Hakeem and his Dependants, made the contumacious of this Country refractory, so that only in Two Places in the District of Bywarah, in Three Places in the Elaka of Baree, &c., and at One Place in the District of Salone, Recourse was had to Coercion, after the customary Advice and Admonition had been unsuccessfully given to the turbulent, which very Circumstance may have probably induced interested

No. 92. People to magnify One into a Thousand, and to give them Publicity; but
continued.) those Measures alone quelled entirely the Spirit of Sedition which had
 — certainly manifested itself; and, by a fortunate Coincidence, many of those
 Talookdars (besides whom none other had absconded from the Country) attended in Person at this Capital, of their own Accord, and were, from the Necessities of the Times, reinstated in their Possessions; consequently there are no Disturbances or Fightings at present in the Country.

If it be weighed in the Balance of Justice, the great Absence of Anarchy and Confusion in the Country, and Safety on Highways, are by no means less, if they are not more, than during the Administration of the before-mentioned Hakeem. As for trifling Affairs, where are they not to be found if Notice is taken?

With respect to the Ruin of the Country, which is altogether incorrect, for Years the same Revenue has been realized; the Peasantry still enjoy their Possessions, and their Lands continue to be as populous as heretofore. These Details, agreeably to the Proverb, that "What is apparent needs no Illustration," require no Proof; besides all Inquiries lead to the same Conclusion.

Things moreover do not rest here. I myself, and my Minister of State and worthy Son Nawab Roshum oodowlah, heartily exert ourselves for the good Management of the Country. After the remaining Five or Six Months of the Fusly Year 1240, the whole Country will be made Amanee, and Settlements will be made with Proprietors of Lands and others for a prolonged Period, in which Case such good Order will be introduced by the Grace of God, that few People will then apply the Term "Mismanagement" to this Country. Let his Lordship rest satisfied on this Point.

It is known to all, that I am more desirous than my illustrious Predecessors to consult the Satisfaction of the British Government; and as you are the Representative of the Governor General in this Country, and are matchless for your laudable Qualities, especially for your Good-will, and as further his Lordship sees and hears through your Eyes and Ears the Events that take place in my State, I have to do with you; I have communicated every thing to you. I have Hopes from your Friendship that you will submit a correct Translation of this Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor General, and state what Friendship dictates in a proper and becoming Manner, such as will insure the Prosperity of the Country, and my Power and Authority in the State, (which is my Patrimony, consisting of a small Tract of Land,) and will resound still more to the Governor General's and your Reputation, more than formerly in these Parts.

(True Translation.)

(Signed)

JAS. PATON, Assistant.

The following Translation, by the Resident at Lucknow, of a Letter from the King of Oude to the Right Honourable the Governor General, having been read in Circulation, is ordered to be here recorded:

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from his Majesty the King of OUDE to the Address of the Right Honourable the Governor General, dated 18th Ramzaun 1248 Hijree. (Received on the 4th March, 1833.)

I HAVE had the Gratification to receive your Lordship's Letter of the 14th December 1832, of which Major Low was the Bearer.

Although the Contents of that Letter show your Lordship's heartfelt Regard in wishing the Prosperity of this State, nevertheless, as it apparently evinces your Displeasure, I have experienced such withering of the Heart, that the World and all that it contains give me no Pleasure, because I have no Dependence but on your Lordship's Kindness and Favour. It consequently becomes necessary to state briefly the Circumstances of the Case; that is, the Stories of Misgovernment to which interested People have given Circulation, and which have by Degrees reached your Lordship's Ears, are not correct in the Tenth or even Twentieth Part. The Mode of Government observed by Princes of other States in Hindoostan from the first until now, as well as in this State, is still continued. It is evidently impossible to make a Comparison with the good Management prevailing in the British Dominions, because there never has been such good Government any where and at any Time since the Creation of

of the World, or even in India. Even during Hakeem Mehdee Allee Khan's Administration there have been many Occurrences attended with fighting and Loss of Lives in this Country, an Explanation of which would require much Detail, but which obtained less Notoriety.

No. 92.

(continued.)

Independent of Drought and Injury done by Locusts, the Circumstance of there having been no Minister of State for more or less than Three Months, for Reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, and also the Seditions of the said Hakeem and his Dependants, made the contumacious rebellious, so that only in Two Places in the District of Byswarah, in Three Places in the Elaka of Baree, &c., and in One Place in Salone, Recourse was had to Coercion, after the customary Advice and Admonition had been in vain offered to the turbulent; which very Circumstance may have induced interested People to magnify One into a Thousand, and to give them Publicity; but those Measures alone quelled altogether the Spirit of Sedition, which had certainly manifested itself; and, by a fortunate Coincidence, many of those Talookdars (besides whom none other had absconded the Country) attended in Person at this Capital, of their own Accord, and were from the Necessities of the Times reinstated in their Possessions; consequently there are no Disturbances or Fightings in the Country.

If it be weighed in the Balance of Justice, the great Absence of Anarchy and Confusion in the Country, and Safety on the Highways, are by no means less, if they are not more, than during the Administration of the said Hakeem. As for trifling Occurrences, where are they not to be found if Notice be taken?

With respect to the Ruin of the Country, which is altogether incorrect, for Years the same Revenue has been realized; the Peasantry still enjoy their Possessions, and their Lands continue to be as populous as heretofore. These Details, agreeably to the Proverb, that "What is apparent needs no Illustration," require no Proof; besides all Inquiries lead to the same Conclusion.

Moreover, Things do not rest here. I myself, and my Minister of State and worthy Son Nawab Roshounoodowlah, heartily exert ourselves for the good Management of the Country. After the remaining Five or Six Months of the Fusly Year 1240, the whole Country will be made Amanee, and Revenue Settlements will be made with Proprietors of Lands and others for a prolonged Period; in which Case such good Order will be introduced by the Grace of God, that few Men will apply the Word Mismanagement to this Country. Your Lordship may rest satisfied on this Point.

It is universally known, that I am more desirous than my illustrious Ancestors to consult your Lordship's Satisfaction, and even to obey you. Let Instructions be therefore issued to Major Low to tell me in a friendly Manner, by way of Advice, what is salutary for the good Administration of this Country; in adopting which there will be no Objection, on certain Conditions. I further entertain the Hope, from your Lordship's Kindness and good Faith, that you will take no other Measures but those which will increase my Power and Authority in my hereditary Domains, which consist of a small Space of Land, and which will more than ever redound to your Lordship's Credit.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) JAS. PATON, Assistant.

